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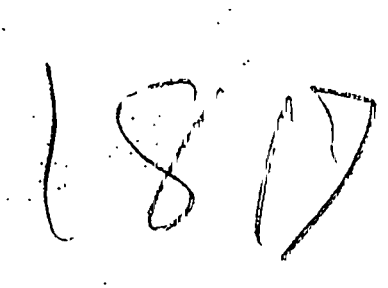

THE

ANCIENT HISTORY

OF THE

EGYPTIANS,
CARTHAGINIANS,
ASSYRIANS,
BABYLONIANS,
MEDES AND PERSIANS,
MACEDONIANS,
AND
GRECIANS.

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TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

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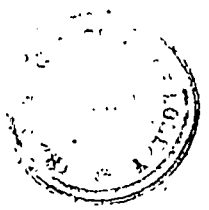

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CONTENTS OF VOL. VII.

BOOK XIX. continued.

Page

Sequel of the history of Alexander's Successors 1

Sect. VIII. *Fulvius the consul subdues the Ætolians. The Spartans are cruelly treated by their exiles. Manlius, the other consul, conquers the Asiatic Gauls. Antiochus, in order to pay the tribute due to the Romans, plunders a temple in Elymais. That monarch is killed. Explication of Daniel's prophecy concerning Antiochus* - - - - ibid.

Sect. IX. *Seleucus Philopator succeeds to the throne of Antiochus his father. The first occurrences of the reign of Ptolemy Epiphanes in Egypt. Various embassies sent to the Achæans and Romans. Complaints made against Philip. Commissioners are sent from Rome to enquire into those complaints; and at the same time to take cognizance of the ill treatment of Sparta by the Achæans. Sequel of that affair* - - - - - 21

Sect. X. *Philopœmen besieges Messene. He is taken prisoner, and put to death by the Messenians. Messene surrendered to the Achæans. The splendid funeral procession of Philopœmen, whose ashes are carried to Megalopolis. Sequel of the affair relating to the Spartan exiles. The death of Ptolemy Epiphanes, who is succeeded by Philometor his son* - - - - - - - 41

CHAPTER II.

Page

Sect. I. *Complaints made at Rome against Philip. Demetrius, his son, who was in that city, is sent back to his father, accompanied by some ambassadors. A secret conspiracy of Perseus against his brother Demetrius with regard to the succession of the throne. He accuses him before Philip. Speeches of both those princes. Philip, upon a new impeachment, causes Demetrius to be put to death; but afterwards discovers his innocence and Perseus's guilt. Whilst Philip is meditating to punish the latter, he dies, and Perseus succeeds him* - - - - - - 56

Sect. II. *The death of Seleucus Philopator, whose reign was short and obscure. He is succeeded by his brother Antiochus, surnamed Epiphanes. Causes of the war which afterwards broke out between the kings of Egypt and Syria. Antiochus gains a victory over Ptolemy. The conqueror possesses himself of Egypt, and takes the king prisoner. A report prevailing of a general revolt, he goes into Palestine; besieges and takes Jerusalem, where he exercises the most horrid cruelties. The Alexandrians, in the room of Philometor who was Antiochus's prisoner, raise to the throne his younger brother Ptolemy Euergetes, surnamed also Physcon. Antiochus renews the war with Egypt. The two brothers are reconciled. He marches towards Alexandria, in order to lay siege to it. Popilius, one of the Roman ambassadors, obliges him to quit Egypt, and not to molest the two brothers* - - - - - - - 91

Sect. III. *Antiochus, enraged at what had happened to him in Egypt, wreaks his vengeance on the Jews. He endeavours to abolish the*

Page

worship of the true GOD *in Jerusalem. He exercises the most horrid cruelties in that city. The generous resistance made by Mattathias, who, in his expiring moments, exhorts his sons to fight in defence of the law of* GOD. *Judas Maccabæus gains several victories over the generals and armies of Antiochus. That prince, who had marched into Persia, in order to amass treasures there, attempts to plunder a rich temple in Elymais, but is shamefully repulsed. Hearing that his armies had been defeated in Judæa, he sets out on a sudden to extirpate all the Jews. In his march he is struck by the hand of Heaven, and dies in the greatest torments, after having reigned eleven years* - 116

Sect. IV. *Prophecies of Daniel relating to Antiochus Epiphanes* - - - - - 139

BOOK XX.

The history of Alexander's Successors continued.

ARTICLE I.

Sect. I. *Perseus prepares secretly for a war against the Romans. He endeavours a reconciliation with the Achæans in vain. His secret measures not unknown at Rome. Eumenes arrives there, and informs the senate of them. Perseus attempts to rid himself of that prince, first by assassination, and afterwards by poison. The Romans break with Perseus. Different opinions and dispositions of the kings and states, in regard to the Macedonian war. After several embassies on both sides, the war is declared in form* - - 152

Sect. II. *The consul Licinius and king Perseus take the field. They both encamp near the*

Page

river Peneus, at some distance from each other. Engagement of the cavalry, in which Perseus has considerably the advantage, and makes an ill use of it. He endeavours to make a peace, but ineffectually. The armies on both sides go into winter-quarters - - 174

Sect. III. *The senate pass a wise decree to put a stop to the avarice of the generals and magistrates, who oppressed the allies. The consul Marcius, after sustaining great fatigue, enters Macedonia. Perseus takes the alarm, and leaves the passes open: he resumes courage afterwards. Insolent embassy of the Rhodians to Rome* - - - - - - 190

Sect. IV. *Paulus Æmilius chosen consul. He sets out for Macedonia with the prætor Cn. Octavius, who commanded the fleet. Perseus solicits aid on all sides. His avarice is the cause of his losing considerable allies. The prætor Anicius's victories in Illyria. Paulus Æmilius's celebrated victory over Perseus near the city of Pydna. Perseus taken with all his children. The command of Paulus Æmilius in Macedonia prolonged. Decree of the senate granting liberty to the Macedonians and Illyrians. Paulus Æmilius, during the winter-quarters, visits the most celebrated cities of Greece. Upon his return to Amphipolis he gives a great feast. He marches for Rome. On his way he suffers his army to plunder all the cities of Epirus. He enters Rome in triumph. Death of Perseus. Cn. Octavius and L. Anicius have also the honour of a triumph decreed them* - 202

ARTICLE II.

Sect. I. *Attalus comes to Rome to congratulate the Romans upon their success in Macedonia.*

Page

The deputies of the Rhodians present themselves before the senate, and endeavour to appease their wrath. After long and warm solicitations, they succeed in being admitted into the alliance of the Roman people. Severity exercised against the Ætolians. All of them, in general, who had favoured Perseus, are cited to Rome, to answer for their conduct. A thousand Achæans carried thither: Polybius one of the number. The senate banishes them into several towns of Italy. After seventeen years of banishment, they are sent back into their own country: when only three hundred of them remained - - 252

Sect. II. *Mean flattery of Prusias, king of Bithynia, in the senate. Eumenes, becomes suspected by the Romans, is not suffered to enter Rome. Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, dies, and is succeeded by a son of the same name. Death of Eumenes. Attalus, his brother, succeeds him, as guardian to his son then very young. War between Attalus and Prusias. The latter having formed the design of putting his son Nicomedes to death, is killed by him. Embassy of three celebrated Athenian philosophers to Rome. Another from the people of Marseilles. Digression upon the city of Marseilles* - - - - - - 270

Sect. III. *Andriscus, who gave himself out for the son of Perseus, makes himself master of Macèdonia, and causes himself to be proclaimed king. The prætor Juventius attacks him, and is killed in the battle with part of his army. Metellus, who succeeds him, retrieves that loss. The usurper is overthrown, taken, and sent to Rome. A second and third usurper are also defeated* - - - - 287

Sect. IV. *Troubles in Achaia; which declares war against the Lacedæmonians. Metel-*

Page

lus sends deputies to Corinth to appease those troubles; they are ill used and insulted. Thebes and Chalcis join the Achæans. Metellus, after having ineffectually exhorted them to peace, gives them battle, and defeats them. The consul Mummius succeeds him, and after having gained a battle, takes Corinth, sets it on fire, and entirely demolishes it. Greece is reduced into a Roman province. Various actions and death of Polybius. Triumphs of Metellus and Mummius - - 291

Sect. V. *Reflections upon the causes of the grandeur, declension, and ruin of Greece* - 305

ARTICLE III.

Sect. I. *A chronological abridgment of the history of the kings of Egypt and Syria, who are mentioned in the third article* - - - 318

Sect. II. *Antiochus Eupator, at the age of nine years, succeeds his father Antiochus Epiphanes in the kingdom of Syria. Demetrius, who had been long a hostage at Rome, demands in vain permission to return to Syria. Celebrated victories of Judas Maccabæus against the generals of the king of Syria, and the king himself in person. Long differences between the two brothers, the Ptolemies, kings of Egypt, terminated at length by a happy peace* - - - - - - 328

Sect. III. *Octavius, ambassador of the Romans in Syria, is killed there. Demetrius escapes from Rome, puts Eupator to death, ascends the throne of Syria, and assumes the surname of Soter. He makes war against the Jews. Repeated victories of Judas Maccabæus; death of that great man. Demetrius is acknowledged king by the Romans. He abandons himself to drunkenness and debauchery. Alexander Bala forms a con-*

BOOK THE NINETEENTH,

CONTINUED.

SEQUEL

OF

THE HISTORY

OF

ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS.

SECT. VIII. *Fulvius the consul subdues the Ætolians. The Spartans are cruelly treated by their exiles. Manlius, the other consul, conquers the Asiatic Gauls. Antiochus, in order to pay the tribute due to the Romans, plunders a temple in Elymais. That monarch is killed. Explication of Daniel's prophecy concerning Antiochus.*

[a]DURING the expedition of the Romans in Asia, some commotions had happened in Greece. Amynander, by the aid of the Ætolians, had re-established himself in his kingdom of Athamania, after having driven out of his cities the Macedonian garrisons that held them for king Philip. He deputed some ambassadors to the senate of Rome; and others into Asia to the two Scipios, who were then at Ephesus, after their signal victory over Antiochus, to excuse his having A. M. 3815. Ant. J.C. 189.

[a] Liv. l. xxxviii. n. 1.—11. Polyb. in Excerpt. Leg. c. 26—28.

employed the arms of the Ætolians against Philip, and also to make his complaints against that prince.

The Ætolians had likewise undertaken some enterprises against Philip, in which they had met with tolerable success: but when they heard of Antiochus's defeat, and found that the ambassadors they had sent to Rome were returning from thence, without being able to obtain any of their demands, and that Fulvius the consul was actually marching against them, they were seized with real alarms. Finding it would be impossible for them to resist the Romans by force of arms, they again had recourse to entreaties; and in order to render them more effectual, they engaged the Athenians and Rhodians to join their ambassadors to those whom they were going to send to Rome, in order to sue for peace.

The consul being arrived in Greece, had, in conjunction with the Epirots, laid siege to Ambracia, in which the Ætolians had a strong garrison, who made a vigorous defence. However, being at last persuaded that it would be impossible for them to hold out long against the Roman arms, they sent new ambassadors to the consul, investing them with full powers to conclude a treaty on any conditions. Those which were proposed to them appearing exceedingly severe, the ambassadors, notwithstanding their full powers, desired that leave might be granted them to consult the assembly once more: but the members of it were displeased with them for it, and therefore sent them back, with orders to terminate the affair. During this interval, the Athenian and Rhodian ambassadors, whom the senate had sent back to the consul, were arrived, and Amynander had also come to him. The latter having great influence in the city of Ambracia, where he had spent many years during his banishment, prevailed with the inhabitants to surrender themselves at last to the consul. A peace was also granted to the Ætolians. The chief conditions of the treaty were as follow: that they should first deliver up their

arms and horses to the Romans; should pay them one thousand talents of silver (about a hundred and fifty thousand pounds), half to be paid down directly; should restore to both the Romans and their allies, all the deserters and prisoners; should look upon as their enemies and friends, all those who were such to the Romans; and lastly, should give up forty hostages, to be chosen by the consul. Their ambassadors being arrived at Rome, to procure the ratification of the treaty there, found the people highly exasperated against the Ætolians, as well on account of their past conduct, as the complaints made against them by Philip in the letters which he had written on that subject. At last, however, the senate were moved by their entreaties, and those of the ambassadors of Athens and Rhodes who accompanied them, and therefore they ratified the treaty conformably to the conditions which the consul had prescribed. The Ætolians were permitted to pay in gold the sum imposed on them, in such a manner, as that every piece of gold should be estimated at the value of ten pieces of silver of the same weight, which shows the proportion between gold and silver at that time.

[b] Fulvius the consul, after he had terminated the war with the Ætolians, crossed into the island of Cephalenia, in order to subdue it. All the cities, at the first summons, surrendered readily. The inhabitants of Same only, after submitting to the conqueror, were sorry for what they had done, and accordingly shut their gates against the Romans, which obliged them to besiege it in form. Same made a very vigorous defence, insomuch that it was four months before the consul could take it.

From thence he went to Peloponnesus, whither he was called by the people of Ægium and Sparta, to decide the differences which interrupted their tranquillity.

The general assembly of the Achæans had from

[b] Liv. l. xxxviii. n. 28—30.

time immemorial been held at Ægium: but Philopœmen, who was then in office, resolved to change that custom, and to cause the assembly to be held successively in all the cities which formed the Achæan league; and that very year he summoned it to Argos. The consul would not oppose this motion; and though his inclination led him to favour the inhabitants of Ægium, because he thought their cause the most just; yet, seeing that the other party would certainly prevail, he withdrew from the assembly without declaring his opinion.

[c]But the affair relating to Sparta was still more intricate, and, at the same time, of greater importance. Those who had been banished from that city by Nabis the tyrant, had fortified themselves in towns and castles along the coast, and from thence infested the Spartans. The latter had attacked, in the night, one of those towns, called Las, and carried it, but were soon after driven out of it. This enterprise alarmed the exiles, and obliged them to have recourse to the Achæans. Philopœmen, who at that time was in office, secretly favoured the exiles; and endeavoured on all occasions to lessen the influence and authority of Sparta. On his motion, a decree was enacted, the purport of which was, that Quintius and the Romans, having put the towns and castles of the sea-coast of Laconia under the protection of the Achæans, and having forbidden the Lacedæmonians access to it; and the latter having, however, attacked the town called Las, and killed some of the inhabitants; the Achæan assembly demanded that the contrivers of that enterprise should be delivered up to them; and that otherwise they should be declared violators of the treaty. Ambassadors were deputed to give them notice of this decree. A demand made in so haughty a tone exceedingly exasperated the Lacedæmonians. They immediately put to death thirty of those who had

[c] Liv. l. xxxviii. n. 30—34.

held a correspondence with Philopœmen and the exiles; dissolved their alliance with the Achæans; and sent ambassadors to Fulvius the consul, who was then in Cephalenia, in order to put Sparta under the protection of the Romans, and to entreat him to come and take possession of it. When the Achæans received advice of what had been transacted in Sparta, they unanimously declared war against that city, which began by some slight incursions both by sea and land, the season being too far advanced for undertaking any thing considerable.

The consul, being arrived in Peloponnesus, heard both parties in a public assembly. The debates were exceedingly warm, and the altercation carried to a great height on both sides. Without coming to any immediate determination, he commanded them to lay down their arms, and to send their respective ambassadors to Rome: and accordingly they repaired thither immediately, and were admitted to audience. The Achæan league was greatly respected at Rome; but, at the same time, the Romans were unwilling to disgust the Lacedæmonians entirely. The senate therefore returned an obscure and ambiguous answer (which has not come down to us), whereby the Achæans might flatter themselves, that they were allowed full power to infest Sparta; and the Spartans, that such power was very much limited and restrained.

The Achæans extended it as they thought proper. Philopœmen had been continued in his employment of first magistrate. He marched the army to a small distance from Sparta without loss of time; and again demanded to have those persons surrendered to him, who had concerted the enterprise against the town of Las; declaring that they should not be condemned nor punished till after being heard. Upon this promise, those who had been expressly nominated set out, accompanied by several of the most illustrious citizens, who looked upon their cause as their own, or rather as that of the public. Being arrived at the camp of the Achæans, they

were greatly surprised to see the exiles at the head of the army. The latter, advancing out of the camp, came to meet them with an insulting air, and began to overwhelm them with reproaches and invectives: after this, the quarrel growing warmer, they fell upon them with great violence, and treated them very ignominously. In vain did the Spartans implore both gods and men, and claim the right of nations: the rabble of the Achæans, animated by the seditious cries of the exiles, joined with them, notwithstanding the protection due to ambassadors, and in spite of the prohibition of the supreme magistrate. Seventeen were immediately stoned to death, and seventy-three rescued by the magistrate out of the hands of those furious wretches. It was not that he intended to pardon them; but he would not have it said, that they had been put to death without being heard. The next day they were brought before that enraged multitude, who, almost without so much as hearing them, condemned and executed them all.

The reader will naturally suppose that so unjust and cruel a treatment threw the Spartans into the deepest affliction, and filled them with alarms. The Achæans imposed the same conditions on them, as they would have done on a city that had been taken by storm. They gave orders that the walls should be demolished; that all such mercenaries as the tyrants had kept in their service should leave Laconia; that the slaves whom those tyrants had set at liberty (and there were a great number of them) should also be obliged to depart the country in a certain limited time, upon pain of being seized by the Achæans, and sold or carried whithersoever they thought proper; that the laws and institutions of Lycurgus should be annulled; and, in fine, that the Spartans should be associated in the Achæan league, with whom they should thenceforth form but one body, and follow the same customs and usages.

The Lacedæmonians were not much afflicted at

the demolition of their walls, with which they began the execution of the orders prescribed them; and indeed it was no great misfortune to them. *Sparta had long subsisted without any other walls or defence than the bravery of its citizens. [d] Pausanias informs us, that the walls of Sparta were begun to be † built in the time of the inroads of Demetrius, and afterwards of Pyrrhus; but they had been completed by Nabis. Livy relates also, that the tyrants, for their own security, had fortified with walls all such parts of the city as were most open and accessible. The demolition of these walls, therefore, was not a subject of much grief to the inhabitants of Sparta. But it was with inexpressible regret they saw the exiles, who had caused its destruction, returning into it. and who might justly be considered as its most cruel enemies. Sparta, enervated by this last blow, lost all its pristine vigour, and was for many years dependent on, and subjected to, the Achæans. ‡ The most fatal circumstance with regard to Sparta was, the abolition of the laws of Lycurgus, which had continued in force seven hundred years, and had been the source of all its grandeur and glory.

This cruel treatment of so renowned a city as Sparta does Philopœmen no honour; but, on the

[d] In Achaic. p. 412.

* *Fuerat quondam sine muro Sparta. Tyranni nuper locis patentibus planisque objecerant murum: altiora loca et difficiliora aditu stationibus armatorum pro munimento objectis tutabantur.* Liv. l. xxxiv. n. 38.

Spartani urbem, quam semper armis non muris defenderant, tum contra responsa fatorum et veterem majorum gloriam, armis diffisi, murorum præsidio includunt. Tantum eos degeneravisse à majoribus, ut cùm multis seculis murus urbi civium virtus fuerit, tunc cives salvos se fore non existimaverint, nisi intra muros laterent. Justin. l. xiv. c. 5.

† Justin informs us, that Sparta was fortified with walls at the time that Cassander meditated the invasion of Greece.

‡ *Nulla res tanto erat damno, quàm disciplina Lycurgi, cui per septingentos annos assueverant, sublata.* Liv.

contrary, seems to be a great blot in his reputation. Plutarch, who justly ranks him among the greatest captains of Greece, does but just glance at this action, and says only a word or two of it. It must indeed be confessed, that the cause of the exiles was favourable in itself. They had Agesipolis at their head, to whom the kingdom of Sparta rightfully belonged; and they had been all expelled their country by the tyrants: but so open a violation of the law of nations (to which Philopœmen gave at least occasion, if he did not consent to it) cannot be excused in any manner.

[c] It appears, from a fragment of Polybius, that the Lacedæmonians made complaints at Rome against Philopœmen, as having by this action, equally unjust and cruel, defied the power of the republic of Rome, and insulted its majesty. It was a long time before they could obtain leave to be heard. At last, A. M. 3817. Ant. J. C. 187. Lepidus the consul wrote a letter to the Achæan confederacy, to complain of the treatment which the Lacedæmonians had met with. Philopœmen and the Achæans sent an ambassador, Nicodemus of Elis, to Rome, to justify their conduct.

[f] In the same campaign, and almost at the same time that Fulvius the consul terminated the war with the Ætolians, Manlius, the other consul, terminated that with the Gauls. I have taken notice elsewhere of the inroad these nations had made into different countries of Europe and Asia, under Brennus. The Gauls in question had settled in that part of Asia Minor called, from their name, Gallo-Græcia, or Galatia, and formed three bodies, three different states; the Tolistobogi, the Trocmi, and Tectosages. They had made themselves formidable to all the nations round, and spread terror and alarms on all sides. The pretence for declaring war against them

[c] Polyb. in Legat. c. xxxvii.
Liv. l. xxxviii. n. 12—27. Polyb. in Excerpt. Legat. 29—35.

was, their having aided Antiochus with troops. Immediately after L. Scipio had resigned the command of his army to Manlius, the latter set out from Ephesus, and marched against the Gauls. If Eumenes had not been then at Rome, he would have been of great service to him in his march; however his brother Attalus supplied his place, and was the consul's guide. The Gauls had acquired great reputation in every part of this country, which they had subdued by the power of their arms, and had not met with the least opposition. Manlius judged that it would be necessary to harangue his forces on this occasion, before they engaged the enemy. "I am no "ways surprised (says he) that the Gauls should "have made their name formidable, and spread "terror in the minds of nations so soft and effe-"minate as the Asiatics. Their tall stature, their "fair flowing hair, which descends to their waists; "their enormous bucklers, their long swords; add "to this, their songs, their cries, and howlings, "at the first onset; the dreadful clashing of their "arms and shields; all this may, indeed, be dread-"ful to men not accustomed to them; but not to "you, O Romans, whose victorious arms have so "often triumphed over that nation. Besides, ex-"perience has taught you, that after the Gauls have "spent their first fire, an obstinate resistance blunts "the edge of their courage, as well as their bodily "strength; and that then, quite incapable of sup-"porting the heat of the sun, fatigue, dust, and "thirst, their arms fall from their hands, and they "sink down quite tired and exhausted. Do not "imagine these to be the ancient Gauls, inured to "fatigues and dangers. The luxurious plenty of the "country they have invaded, the soft temperature of "the air they breathe, the effeminacy and luxury of "the people among whom they dwell, have entirely "enervated them. They are now no more than "Phrygians in Gallic armour; and the only cir-"cumstance I fear is, that you will not reap much

" honour by the defeat of enemies so unworthy of dis-
" puting victory with Romans."

It was a general opinion with regard to the ancient Gauls, that a sure way to conquer them, was, to let them exhaust their first fire, which was quickly deadened by opposition; and that when once this edge of their vivacity was blunted, they had lost all strength and vigour: that their bodies were even incapable of sustaining the slightest fatigues long, or of withstanding the sun-beams, when they darted with ever so little violence: that, as they were more than men in the beginning of an action, they were less than women at the conclusion of it. [g] *Gallos primo impetu feroces esse, quos sustinere satis sit——Gallorum quidem etiam corpora intolerantissima laboris atque æstûs fluere; primaque eorum prælia plus quàm virorum, postrema minus quàm feminarum esse.*

Those who were not acquainted with the genius and character of the modern French, entertained very near the same idea of them. However, the late transactions in Italy, and especially on the Rhine, must have undeceived them. However prepossessed I may be in favour of the Greeks and Romans, I question whether they ever discovered greater patience, resolution, and bravery, than the French displayed at the siege of Philipsburgh. I do not speak merely of the generals and officers, courage being natural to and in a manner inherent in them; but even the common soldiers showed such an ardour, intrepidity, and greatness of soul, as amazed the generals. The sight of a hostile army, formidable by its numbers, and still more so by the fame and abilities of the prince who commanded it, served only to animate them the more. During the whole course of this long and laborious siege, in which they suffered so much by the fire of the besieged and the heat of the sun, by the violence of the rains and inun-

[g] Liv. l. x. n. 28.

dations of the Rhine; they never once breathed the least murmur or complaint. They were seen wading through great floods, where they were up to the shoulders in water, carrying their clothes and arms over their heads, and afterwards marching, quite uncovered, on the outside of the trenches full of water, exposed to the whole fire of the enemy; and then advancing with intrepidity to the front of the attack, demanding, with the loudest shouts, that the enemy should not be allowed capitulation of any kind; and appearing to dread no other circumstance than their being denied the opportunity of signalizing their courage and zeal still more, by storming the city. What I now relate is universally known. The most noble sentiments of honour, bravery, and intrepidity, must necessarily have taken deep root in the minds of our countrymen; otherwise, they could not have burst forth at once so gloriously in a first campaign, after having been in a manner asleep during a twenty years' peace.

The testimony which Lewis XV. thought it incumbent on him to give them, is so glorious to the nation, and even reflects so bright a lustre on the king himself, that I am persuaded none of my readers will be displeased to find it inserted here entire. If this digression is not allowable in a history like this, methinks it is pardonable, and even laudable, in a true Frenchman, fired with zeal for his king and country.

The KING's Letter to the Marshal D'ASFELDT.

"COUSIN,

"I am fully sensible of the important service you "have done me in taking Philipsburgh. Nothing "less than your courage and resolution could have "surmounted the obstacles to that enterprise, occa- "sioned by the inundations of the Rhine. You have "had the satisfaction to see your example inspire the "officers and soldiers with the same sentiments. I "caused an account to be sent me daily, of all the

" transactions of that siege; and always observed, that
" the ardour and patience of my troops increased in
" proportion to the difficulties that arose, either from
" the swelling of the floods, the presence of the
" enemy, or the fire of the place. Every kind of
" success may be expected from so valiant a nation:
" and I enjoin you to inform the general officers and
" others, and even the whole army, that I am highly
" satisfied with them. You need not doubt my
" having the same sentiments with regard to you; to
" assure you of which is the sole motive of this letter;
" and (Cousin) I beseech the Almighty to have you
" in his holy keeping.

" Versailles, July 23, 1734."

I now return to the history. After Manlius had ended the speech repeated above, the army discovered by their shouts, how impatiently they desired to be led against the enemy; and accordingly the consul entered their territories. The Gauls had not once suspected that the Romans would invade them, as their country lay so remote from them, and therefore were not prepared to oppose them. But notwithstanding this, they made a long and vigorous resistance. They laid wait for Manlius in defiles; disputed the passes with him; shut themselves up in their strongest fortresses, and retired to such eminences as they thought inaccessible. However, the consul, so far from being discouraged, followed, and forced them wherever he came. He attacked them separately, stormed their cities, and defeated them in several engagements. I shall not descend to particulars, which were of little importance, and consequently would only tire the reader. The Gauls were obliged at last to submit, and to confine themselves within the limits prescribed them.

By this victory, the Romans delivered the whole country from the perpetual terrors it was under from those barbarians, who hitherto had done nothing but harass and plunder their neighbours. Tranquillity

was so fully restored in this quarter, that the empire of the Romans was established there, from the river Halys to mount Taurus; and the kings of Syria were for ever excluded from all Asia Minor. [h] We are told that *Antiochus said, on this occasion, that he was highly obliged to the Romans, for having freed him from the cares and troubles which the government of so vast an extent of country must necessarily have brought upon him.

[i] Fulvius, one of the consuls, returned to Rome, in order to preside in the assembly. The consulate was given to M. Valerius Messala and C. Livius Salinator. The instant the assembly broke up, Fulvius returned to his own province. Himself and Manlius his colleague were continued in the command of the armies for a year, in quality of proconsuls. A. M. 3816. Ant. J. C. 188.

Manlius had repaired to Ephesus, to settle, with the ten commissioners who had been appointed by the senate, the most important articles of their commission. The treaty of peace with Antiochus was confirmed, as also that which Manlius had concluded with the Gauls. Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, had been sentenced to pay the Romans six hundred talents (six hundred thousand crowns), for having assisted Antiochus: however, half this sum was abated at the request of Eumenes, who was to marry his daughter. Manlius made a present to Eumenes of all the elephants which Antiochus, according to the treaty, had delivered up to the Romans. He repassed into Europe with his forces, after having admitted the deputies of the several cities to audience, and settled the chief difficulties among them.

[h] Cic. Orat. pro Dejot. n. 36. Val. Max. l. iv. c. 1.

[i] Liv. l. xxxviii. n. 35.

* *Antiochus magnus—dicere est solitus, Benignè sibi à populo Romano esse factum, quòd nimis magnâ procuratione liberatus, modicis regni terminis uteretur.* Cic.

A. M. 3817. Ant. J. C. 187.

[k] Antiochus was very much puzzled how to raise the sum he was to pay the Romans. He made a progress through the provinces of the east, in order to levy the tribute which they owed him; and left the regency of Syria, during his absence, to Seleucus his son, whom he had declared his presumptive heir. Being arrived in the province of Elymais, he was informed that there was a very considerable treasure in the temple of Jupiter Belus. This was a strong temptation to a prince who had little regard for religion, and was in extreme want of money. Accordingly, upon a false pretence that the inhabitants of that province had rebelled against him, he entered the temple in the dead of night, and carried off all the riches which had been kept there very religiously during a long series of years. However, the people, exasperated by this sacrilege, rebelled against him, and murdered him with all his followers. [l] Aurelius Victor says that he was killed by some of his own officers, whom he had beaten one day when he was heated with liquor.

This prince was highly worthy of praise, for his humanity, clemency, and liberality. A decree, which we are told he enacted, whereby he gave his subjects permission, and even commanded them, not to obey his ordinances, in case they should be found to interfere with the laws, shows that he had a high regard for justice. Till the age of fifty he had behaved on all occasions with such bravery, prudence, and application, as had given success to all his enterprises, and acquired him the title of the *Great*. But from that time his wisdom, as well as application, had declined very much, and his affairs in proportion. His conduct in the war against the Romans; the little advantage he reaped by, or rather his contempt

[k] Diod. in Excerpt. p. 293. Justin. l. xxxii. c. 2. Hieron. in Dan. cap. xi.

[l] De viris illust. cap. liv.

for, the wise counsels of Hannibal; the ignominious peace he was obliged to accept: these circumstances sullied the glory of his former successes; and his death, occasioned by a wicked and sacrilegious enterprise, threw an indelible blot upon his name and memory.

The prophecies of the eleventh chapter of Daniel, from the 10th to the 19th verse, relate to the actions of this prince, and were fully accomplished.

[m] "But his sons (of the king of the North) shall "be stirred up, and shall assemble a multitude of "great forces: And one (Antiochus the Great) shall "certainly come and overflow, and pass through: then "shall he return and be stirred up even to his for-"tress." [n] This king of the North was Seleucus Callinicus, who left behind him two sons, Seleucus Ceraunus and Antiochus, afterwards surnamed the Great. The former reigned but three years, and was succeeded by Antiochus his brother. The latter, after having pacified the troubles of his kingdom, made war against Ptolemy Philopator, king of the South, that is of Egypt; dispossessed him of Cœle-syria, which was delivered to him by Theodotus, governor of that province; defeated Ptolemy's generals in the narrow passes near Berytus, and made himself master of part of Phœnicia. Ptolemy then endeavoured to amuse him by overtures of peace. The Hebrew is still more expressive. "*He* (meaning Antiochus) "*shall come. He shall overflow* the enemy's coun-"try. *He shall pass* over mount Libanus. *He shall* "*halt*, whilst overtures of peace are making him. *He* "*shall advance with ardour as far as the fortresses*," that is, to the frontiers of Egypt. Ptolemy's victory is clearly pointed out in the following verses.

[o] "And the king of the South shall be moved "with choler, and shall come forth and fight with "him, even with the king of the North: and he shall "set forth a great multitude, but the multitude shall

[m] Ver. 10. [n] See ver. 8. [o] Ver. 11.

" be given into his hand." Ptolemy Philopator was an indolent, effeminate prince. It was necessary to excite and drag him, in a manner, out of his lethargy, in order to prevail with him to take up arms and repulse the enemy, who were preparing to march into his country: *provocatus.* At last he put himself at the head of his troops; and by the valour and good conduct of his generals obtained a signal victory over Antiochus at Raphia.

[p] " And when he hath taken away the multitude, " his heart shall be lifted up, and he shall cast down " many ten thousands; but he shall not be strengthen- " ed by it." Antiochus lost upwards of ten thousand foot and three hundred horse, and four thousand of his men were taken prisoners. Philopator, having marched after his victory to Jerusalem, was so audacious as to attempt to enter the sanctuary, " His " heart shall be lifted up;" and being returned to his kingdom, he behaved with the utmost pride towards the Jews, and treated them very cruelly. He might have dispossessed Antiochus of his dominions, had he taken a proper advantage of his glorious victory; but he contented himself with recovering Cœle-syria and Phœnicia, and again plunged into his former excesses; " But he shall not be strengthened by it."

[q] " For the king of the North shall return, and " shall set forth a multitude greater than the former, " and shall certainly come (after certain years) with " a great army, and with much riches." Antiochus, after he had ended the war beyond the Euphrates, raised a great army in those provinces. Finding, fourteen years after the conclusion of the first war, that Ptolemy Epiphanes, who was then but five or six years of age, had succeeded Philopator his father; he united with Philip king of Macedon, in order to deprive the infant king of his throne. Having defeated Scopas at Panium, near the source of the river Jordan, he subjected the whole country

[p] Ver. 12. [q] Ver. 13.

which Philopator had conquered, by the victory he had gained at Raphia.

[r] "And in those times there shall many stand up "against the king of the South." This prophecy was fulfilled by the league between the kings of Macedonia and Syria against the infant monarch of Eygpt; by the conspiracy of Agathocles and Agathoclea for the regency; and by that of Scopas, to dispossess him of his crown and life. *"Also, the robbers of "thy people shall exalt themselves to establish the "vision, but they shall fall." Several apostate Jews, to ingratiate themselves with the king of Egypt, complied with every thing he required of them, even in opposition to the sacred ordinances of the law, by which means they were in great favour with him, but their influence was not long-lived; for when Antiochus regained possession of Judea and Jerusalem, he either extirpated or drove out of the country, all the partisans of Ptolemy. This subjection of the Jews to the sovereignty of the kings of Syria, prepared the way for the accomplishment of the prophecy, which denounced the calamities that Antiochus Epiphanes, son of Antiochus the Great, was to bring upon this people; which occasioned a great number of them to "fall" into apostasy.

[s] "So the king of the North shall come, and cast "up a mount, and take the most fenced cities, and "the arms of the South shall not withstand, neither "his chosen people, neither shall there be any "strength to withstand. [t] But he that cometh against "him, shall do according to his own will, and none "shall stand before him: And he shall stand in the "glorious land which by his hand shall be consumed." Antiochus, after having defeated the Egyptian army at Panium, besieged and took, first, Sidon, then Gaza, and afterwards all the cities of those provinces, not-

[r] Ver. 14. [s] Ver. 15. [t] Ver. 16.

* The angel Gabriel here speaks to Daniel.

withstanding the opposition made by the chosen troops which the king of Egypt had sent against him. "He did according to his own will," in Cœle-syria and Palestine, and nothing was able to withstand him. Pursuing his conquests in Palestine, he entered Judea, "that glorious," or, according to the Hebrew, "that desirable land." He there established his authority; and strengthened it, by repulsing from the castle of Jerusalem the garrison which Scopas had thrown into it. This garrison having defended itself so well, that Antiochus was obliged to send for all his troops in order to force it; and the siege continuing a long time, the country was ruined and "consumed" by the stay the army was obliged to make in it.

[u] "He shall also set his face to enter with the "strength of his whole kingdom, and upright ones "with him: thus shall he do, and he shall give him "the daughter of women, corrupting her: But she "shall not stand on his side, neither be for him." Antiochus, seeing that the Romans undertook the defence of young Ptolemy Epiphanes, thought it would best suit his interest to lull the king asleep, by giving him his daughter in marriage, in order to "corrupt her," and excite her to betray her husband; but he was not successful in his design: for as soon as she was married to Ptolemy, she renounced her father's interests, and embraced those of her husband. It was on this account that we see her * joined with him in the embassy which was sent from Egypt to Rome, to congratulate the Romans on the victory which Acilius had gained over her father at Thermopylæ.

[x] "After this he shall turn his face unto the isles, "and shall take many: but a prince for his own be-"half shall cause the reproach offered by him [Antio-

[u] Ver. 17. [x] Ver. 18.

* *Legati ab Ptolemæo et Cleopatrâ, regibus Ægypti, gratulantes quòd Manius Acilius consul Antiochum regem Græciæ expulisset, venerunt.* Liv. l. xxxvij. n. 3.

" chus] to cease; without his own reproach he shall " cause it to turn upon him." Antiochus, having put an end to the war of Cœle-syria and Palestine, sent his two sons at the head of the land-army to Sardis, whilst himself embarked on board the fleet, and sailed to the Ægean sea, where he took several islands, and extended his empire exceedingly on that side. However, " the prince" of the people, whom he had insulted by making this invasion, that is, L. Scipio the Roman consul, " caused the reproach to turn upon " him;" by defeating him at mount Sipylus, and repulsing him from every part of Asia Minor.

[7] " Then he shall turn his face towards the fort of " his own land; but he shall stumble and fall, and " not be found." Antiochus, after his defeat, returned to Antioch, the capital of his kingdom, and the strongest fortress in it. He went soon after into the provinces of the East, in order to levy money to pay the Romans; but, having plundered the temple of Elymais, he there lost his life in a miserable manner.

Such is the prophecy of Daniel relating to Antiochus, which I have explained, in most places, according to the Hebrew text. I confess there may be some doubtful and obscure terms which may be difficult to explain, and are variously interpreted by commentators; but is it possible for the substance of the prophecy to appear obscure and doubtful? Can any reasonable man, who makes use of his understanding, ascribe such a prediction, either to mere chance, or to the conjectures of human prudence and sagacity? Can any light, but that which proceeds from GOD himself, penetrate, in this manner, into the darkness of futurity, and point out the events of it in so exact and circumstantial a manner? Not to mention what is here said concerning Egypt, Seleucus Callinicus, king of Syria, leaves two children behind him. The eldest reigns but three years, and does not perform any exploit worthy of being recorded; and, accord-

[7] Ver. 19.

ingly, the prophet does not take any notice of him. The youngest is Antiochus, surnamed the Great, from his great actions; and accordingly, the same prophet gives an abstract of the principal circumstances of his life, his most important enterprises, and even the manner of his death. In it we see his expeditions into Gœle-syria and Phœnicia, several cities of which are besieged and taken by that monarch; his entrance into Jerusalem, which is laid waste by the stay his troops make in it; his conquest of a great many islands; the marriage of his daughter with the king of Egypt, which does not answer the design he had in view; his overthrow by the Roman consul; his retreat to Antioch; and, lastly, his unfortunate end. These are, in a manner, the outlines of Antiochus's picture, which can be made to resemble none but himself. Is it to be supposed that the prophet drew those features without design and at random, in the picture he has left us of him? The facts, which denote the accomplishment of the prophecy, are all told by heathen authors, who lived many centuries after the prophet, and whose fidelity cannot be suspected. It appears to me, that we must renounce, not only religion, but reason, if we refuse to acknowledge, in such prophecies as these, the intervention of a Supreme Being, to whom all ages are present, and who governs the world with absolute power.

SECT. IX. *Seleucus Philopator succeeds to the throne of Antiochus his father. The first occurrences of the reign of Ptolemy Epiphanes in Egypt.—Various embassies sent to the Achæans and Romans. Complaints made against Philip. Commissioners are sent from Rome to enquire into those complaints; and at the same time to take cognizance of the ill treatment of Sparta by the Achæans. Sequel of that affair.*

[z] ANTIOCHUS the Great dying, Seleucus Philopator, his eldest son, whom he had left in Antioch when he set out for the eastern provinces, succeeded him. But his reign was obscure and contemptible, occasioned by the misery to which the Romans had reduced that crown; and the exorbitant* sum (a thousand talents annually) he was obliged to pay, during the whole of his reign, by virtue of the treaty of peace concluded between the king his father and that people. A. M. 3817. Ant. J. C. 187.

[a] Ptolemy Epiphanes at that time reigned in Egypt. Immediately upon his accession to the throne, he had sent an ambassador into Achaia, to renew the alliance which the king his father had formerly concluded with the Achæans. The latter accepted of this office with joy; and accordingly sent as deputies to the king, Lycortas, father of Polybius the historian, and two other ambassadors. The alliance being renewed, Philopœmen, who was at that time in office, inviting Ptolemy's ambassador to a banquet, the conversation turned upon that prince. In the praise which the ambassador bestowed upon him, he expatiated very much on his dexterity in the chace, his address in riding, and his vigour and activity in the exercise of his arms; and to give an example of what he asserted, he declared, that this prince, when hunt-

[z] Appian. in Syr. p. 116.
[a] Polyb. in Leg. c. xxxvii.
* About 150,000*l.*

ing, had killed, on horseback, a wild bull with one stroke of his javelin.

The same year that Antiochus died, Cleopatra his daughter, queen of Egypt, had a son, who reigned after Epiphanes his father, and was called Ptolemy Philometor. [b]The whole realm expressed great joy upon the birth of this prince. Cœle-syria and Palestine distinguished themselves above all the provinces, and the most considerable persons of those countries went to Alexandria upon that occasion with the most splendid equipages. Josephus, of whom I have spoken elsewhere, who was receiver-general of those provinces, being too old to take such a journey, sent his youngest son, Hyrcanus, in his stead, who was a young man of abundance of wit, and very engaging manners. The king and queen gave him a very favourable reception, and did him the honour of a place at their table. At one of these entertainments, the guests, who looked upon him with contempt, as a mere youth, without capacity or experience, placed before him the bones from which they had eaten the flesh. A buffoon, who used to divert the king with his jests, said to him; "Do but "behold, sir, the quantity of bones before Hyrcanus, "and your majesty may judge from thence in what "a manner his father gnaws your provinces." Those words made the king laugh; and he asked Hyrcanus how he came to have so great a number of bones before him. "Your majesty need not wonder at that, "(replied he), for dogs eat both flesh and bones, as "you see the rest of the persons at your table have "done (pointing to them); but men are contented to "eat the flesh, and leave the bones, as I have done." The mockers were mocked by that retort, and continued mute and confused.—When the day for making the presents arrived, as Hyrcanus had given out that he had only * five talents to present, it was expected that he would be very ill received by the king; and people

[b] Joseph. Antiq. lib. xii. c. 4.

* About seven hundred and fifty pounds.

diverted themselves with the thoughts of it beforehand. The greatest presents made by the rest did not exceed *twenty talents. But Hyrcanus presented to the king a hundred boys, well shaped and finely dressed, whom he had bought, each of them bringing a talent as an offering; and to the queen as many girls in magnificent habits, each with a like present, for that princess. The whole court was amazed at such uncommon and surprising magnificence; and the king and queen dismissed Hyrcanus with the highest marks of their favour and esteem.

[c] Ptolemy, in the first year of his reign, governed in so auspicious a manner, as gained him universal approbation and applause; because he followed, in all things, the advice of Aristomenes, who was another father to him; but in process of time, the flattery of courtiers (that deadly poison to kings) prevailed over the wise counsels of that able minister. The young prince shunned him, and began to give into all the vices and failings of his father. Not being able to endure the liberty which Aristomenes frequently took of advising him to act more worthy of his high station, he dispatched him by poison. Having thus got rid of a troublesome censor, whose sight alone was importunate, from the tacit reproaches it seemed to make him, he abandoned himself entirely to his vicious inclinations; plunged into excesses and disorders of every kind; followed no other guides in the administration of affairs than his unbridled passions; and treated his subjects with the cruelty of a tyrant. A. M. 3820. Ant. J. C. 184.

The Egyptians, unable at length to endure the oppressions and injustice to which they were daily exposed, began to cabal together, and to form associations against a king who oppressed them so grievously. Some persons of the highest quality having engaged in this conspiracy, they had already formed designs for deposing him, and were upon the point of putting them in execution.

[c] Diod. in Excerpt. p. 294.

* About three thousand pounds.

[d]To extricate himself from the difficulties in which he was now involved, he chose Polycrates for his prime minister, a man of great bravery as well as abilities, and who had the most consummate experience in affairs both of peace and war; for he had risen to the command of the army under his father, and had served in that quality in the battle of Raphia, on which occasion he had contributed very much to the victory. He was afterwards governor of the island of Cyprus; and happening to be in Alexandria when Scopas's conspiracy was discovered, the expedients he employed on that occasion conduced very much to the preservation of the state.

A. M. 3821. Ant. J. C. 183. Ptolemy, by the assistance of this able minister, overcame the rebels. He obliged their chiefs, who were the principal lords of the country, to capitulate and submit on certain conditions. But, having seized their persons, he violated his promise; and, after having exercised various cruelties upon them, put them all to death. This perfidious conduct brought new troubles upon him, from which the abilities of Polycrates again extricated him.

The Achæan league, at the time we are now speaking of, seems to have been very powerful, and in great consideration. We have seen that Ptolemy, a little after his accession to the throne, had been very solicitous to renew the ancient alliance with them. This he was also very desirous of in the latter end of his reign; and accordingly offered that republic six thousand shields and two hundred talents of brass. His offer was accepted, and, in consequence of it, Lycortas and two other Achæans were deputed to him, to thank him for the presents, and to renew the alliance; and these returned soon

A. M. 3818. Ant. J. C. 186. after with Ptolemy's ambassador, in order to ratify the treaty. [e]King Eumenes also sent an embassy for the same purpose, and offered a hundred and

[d] Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 113.
[e] Polyb. in Legat. c. xli. p. 850—852.

twenty talents (about twenty-one thousand pounds sterling,) the interest of which was to be applied for the support of the members of the public council. Others came likewise from Seleucus, who, in the name of their sovereign, offered ten ships of war completely equipped; and, at the same time, desired to have the ancient alliance with that prince renewed. The ambassador whom Philopœmen had sent to Rome to justify his conduct, was returned from thence, and desired to give an account of his commission.

For these several reasons a great assembly was held. The first man that entered it was Nicodemus of Elea. He gave an account of what he had said in the senate of Rome, with regard to the affair of Sparta, and the answer which had been made him. It was judged by the replies, that the senate, in reality, were not pleased with the subversion of the government of Sparta, with the demolition of the walls of that city, nor with the massacre of the Spartans; but at the same time, that they did not annul any thing which had been enacted. And as no person happened to speak for or against the answers of the senate, no further mention was made of it at that time. But the same affair will be the subject of much debate in the sequel.

The ambassadors of Eumenes were next admitted to audience. After having renewed the alliance which had been formerly made with Attalus, that king's father; and proposed, in Eumenes's name, the offer of a hundred and twenty talents; they expatiated largely on the great friendship and tender regard which their sovereign had always showed for the Achæans. When they had ended, Apollonius of Sicyon rose up, and observed, that the present which the king of Pergamus offered, considered in itself, was worthy of the Achæans; but if regard was had to the end which Eumenes proposed to himself by it, and the advantage he hoped to reap by his munificence, in that case the republic could

not accept of this present without bringing upon itself everlasting infamy, and being guilty of the greatest of prevarications. "For, in a word," continued he, "as the law forbids every individual, whether "of the people or of the magistrates, to receive any "gift from a king upon any pretence whatsoever, the "crime would be much greater, should the commonwealth, collectively, accept of Eumenes's offers. "That with regard to the infamy, it was self-evident "and glaring; for," says Apollonius, "what could "reflect greater ignominy on a council, than to receive, annually, from a king, money for its subsistence; and to assemble, in order to deliberate "on public affairs, only as so many of his pensioners, and in a manner rising from his table, "after having swallowed the *bait that concealed "the hook? But what dreadful consequences might "not be expected from such a custom, should it be "established? Afterwards Prusias, excited by the "example of Eumenes, would also be liberal of his "benefactions, and after him, Seleucus: that, as the "interest of kings differed widely from those of republics, and as, in the latter, their most important "deliberations generally related to their differences "with crowned heads, one of these two things would "inevitably happen: either the Achæans would transact all things to the advantage of those princes, "and to the prejudice of their own country; or "else they must be guilty of the blackest ingratitude "towards their benefactors." He concluded his speech with exhorting the Achæans to refuse the present which was offered; and added, "That it "was their duty to be displeased with Eumenes, "for attempting to bribe their fidelity by such an "offer." The whole assembly with shouts rejected

* Polybius by this expression would denote, that such a pension was a kind of bait that covered a hook, that is, the design which Eumenes had of making all those who composed the council his dependents. Καταπεπωκότας δίονεὶ δέλεαρ.

unanimously the proposal of the king of Pergamus, however dazzling the offer of so large a sum of money might be.

After this, Lycortas and the rest of the ambassadors who had been sent to Ptolemy, were called in; and the decree made by that prince for renewing the alliance was read. Aristenes, who presided in the assembly, having asked what treaty the king of Egypt desired to renew (several having been concluded with Ptolemy upon very different conditions), and nobody being able to answer that question, the decision of that affair was referred to another time.

At last the ambassadors of Seleucus were admitted to audience. The Achæans renewed the alliance which had been concluded with him: but it was not judged expedient to accept, at that juncture, of the ships he offered.

Greece was far from enjoying a calm at this time; and complaints were carried, from all quarters, to Rome against Philip. The senate thereupon nominated three commissioners, of whom Q. Cecilius was the chief, to go and take cognizance of those affairs upon the spot. A.M. 3819. Ant. J.C. 185.

[f] Philip still retained the strongest resentment against the Romans, with whom he believed he had just reason to be dissatisfied on many accounts; but particularly, because by the articles of peace, he had not been allowed the liberty of taking vengeance on such of his subjects as had abandoned him during the war. The Romans, however, had endeavoured to console him, by permitting him to invade Athamania, and Amynander the king of that country; by giving up to him some cities of Thessaly, which the Ætolians had seized; by leaving him the possession of Demetrias and all Magnesia; and by not opposing him in his attempts to make himself master of many cities in Thrace; all which circumstances

[f] Liv. l. xxxix. n. 23—29.

had somewhat appeased his anger. He continually meditated, however, to take advantage of the repose which the peace afforded him, in order to prepare for war whenever a proper opportunity should present itself. But the complaints that were made against him at Rome having been listened to there, revived all his former disgusts.

The three commissioners being arrived at Tempe in Thessaly, an assembly was called there, to which came, on one side, the ambassadors of the Thessalians, of the Perrhœbians and Athamanians; and, on the other, Philip king of Macedon, a circumstance that could not but greatly mortify the pride of so powerful a prince. The ambassadors urged their various complaints against Philip, with greater or less force, according to their different characters and abilities. Some, after excusing themselves for being obliged to plead against him in favour of their liberty, entreated him to act in regard to them rather as a friend than a master, and to imitate the Romans in that particular, who endeavoured to win over their allies rather by friendship than fear. The rest of the ambassadors, with less reserve and moderation, reproached him to his face for his injustice, oppression, and usurpation; assuring the commissioners, that in case they did not apply a speedy remedy, the triumphs they had obtained over Philip, and their restoration of liberty to the Grecians inhabiting the countries near Macedonia, would all be rendered ineffectual: that this prince, *like a fiery courser, would never be kept in and restrained without a very tight rein and a sharp curb. Philip, that he might assume the air of an accuser rather than of one accused, inveighed heavily against those who had harangued on this occasion, and particularly against the Thessalians. He said, that

* *Ut equum sternacem non parentem, frenis asperioribus castigandum esse.* Liv.

like * slaves, who being made free on a sudden, contrary to their expectations, break into the most injurious exclamations against their masters and benefactors, so they abused, with the utmost insolence, the indulgence of the Romans; being incapable, after enduring a long servitude, of making a prudent and moderate use of the liberty which had been granted them. The commissioners, after hearing the accusations and answers, the circumstances of which I have thought proper to omit as little important, and making some particular regulations, did not judge proper at that time to pronounce definitively upon their respective demands.

From thence they went to Thessalonica, to enquire into the affairs relating to the cities of Thrace; and the king, who was very much disgusted, followed them thither. Eumenes's ambassadors said to the commissioners, that if the Romans were resolved to restore the cities of Ænus and Maronea to their liberty, their sovereign was far from having a design to oppose it; but that, if they did not concern themselves in regard to the condition of the cities which had been conquered from Antiochus; in that case, the service which Eumenes and Attalus his father had done Rome seemed to require that they should rather be given up to their master than to Philip, who had no manner of right to them, but had usurped them by open force: that, besides, these cities had been given to Eumenes by a decree of the ten commissioners whom the Romans had appointed to determine these differences. The Maroneans, who were afterwards heard, inveighed in the strongest terms against the injustice and oppression which Philip's garrison exercised in their city.

* *Insolenter et immodicè abuti Thessalos indulgentiâ populi Romani; velut ex diutinâ siti nimis avidè meram haurientes libertatem. Ita, servorum modo, præter spem repentè manumissorum, licentiam vocis et linguæ experiri, et jactare sese insectatione et conviciis dominorum.* Liv.

Here Philip delivered himself in quite different terms from what he had done before; and directing himself personally to the Romans, declared, that he had long perceived they were fully determined never to do him justice on any occasion. He made a long enumeration of the grievous injuries he pretended to have received from them; the services he had done the Romans on different occasions; and laid great stress on the zeal with which he had always adhered to their interest, so far as to refuse three thousand* talents, fifty ships of war completely equipped, and a great number of cities, which Antiochus offered him, upon condition that he would conclude an alliance with him. That, notwithstanding this, he had the mortification to see Eumenes preferred on all occasions, with whom he disdained to compare himself; and that the Romans, so far from enlarging his dominions, as he thought his services merited, had even dispossessed him, as well of those cities to which he had a lawful claim, as of such as they had bestowed upon him. "You, O Romans," says he, concluding his speech, "are to consider upon what "terms you intend to have me be with you. If "you are determined to treat me as an enemy, and "to urge me to extremities, in that case you need "only use me as you have hitherto done: but, if you "still revere in my person the title and quality of "king, ally, and friend, spare me, I beseech you, the "shame of being treated any longer with so much "indignity."

The commissioners were moved with this speech of the king. For this reason, they thought it incumbent on them to leave the affair in suspense, by making no decisive answer; and accordingly they decreed, that if the cities in question had been given to Eumenes, by the decree of the ten commissioners, as he pretended they were, in that case it

* About 450,000*l* sterling.

was not in their power to reverse it: that if Philip had acquired them by right of conquest, it was but just that he should be suffered to continue in possession of them: that if neither of these things should be proved, then the cognizance of this affair should be left to the judgment of the senate; and, in the mean time, the garrisons be drawn out of the cities, each party retaining his pretensions as before.

This regulation, by which Philip was commanded, provisionally, to withdraw his garrisons out of the respective cities, far from satisfying that prince, so entirely discontented and enraged him, that the consequence would certainly have been an open war, if he had lived long enough to prepare for it.

[g] The commissioners, at their leaving Macedonia, went to Achaia. Aristenes, who was the chief magistrate, assembled immediately all the chiefs of the republic in Argos. Cecilius coming into this council, after having applauded the zeal of the Achæans, and the wisdom of their government on all other occasions, added, that he could not forbear telling them, that their injurious treatment of the Lacedæmonians had been very much censured at Rome; and therefore he exhorted them to amend, as much as lay in their power, what had been done imprudently against them on that occasion. The silence of Aristenes, who did not reply a single word, showed that he was of the same opinion with Cecilius, and that they acted in concert. Diophanes of Megalopolis, a man better skilled in war than politics, and who hated Philopœmen, without mentioning the affair of Sparta, made other complaints against him. Upon this, Philopœmen, Lycortas, and Archon, began to speak with the utmost vigour in defence of the republic. They showed, that the whole transaction with respect to Sparta had been conducted with prudence, and even to the advantage of the Lacedæmonians: and that

[g] Polyb. in Leg. c. xli. p. 853, 854.

no alteration could take place, without violating human laws, as well as the reverence due to the gods. When Cecilius quitted the assembly, the members of it, moved with Philopœmen's discourse, came to a resolution, that nothing should be changed in what had been decreed, and that this answer should be made the Roman ambassador.

When it was told Cecilius, he desired that the general assembly of the country might be convened. To this the magistrates replied, that he must first produce a letter from the senate of Rome, by which the Achæans should be desired to meet. As Cecilius had no such letter, they told him plainly, that they would not assemble; which exasperated him to such a degree, that he left Achaia, and would not hear what the magistrates had to say. It was believed that this ambassador (and before him Marcus Fulvius) would not have delivered themselves with so much freedom, had they not been sure that Aristenes and Diophanes were in their interest. And, indeed, they were accused of having invited those Romans into that country, purely out of hatred to Philopœmen; and accordingly were greatly suspected by the populace.

A. M. 3820. Ant. J. C. 184. [h] Cecilius, at his return to Rome, acquainted the senate with whatever had been transacted by him in Greece. After this, the ambassadors of Macedonia and Peloponnesus were brought in. Those of Philip and Eumenes were introduced first, and then the exiles of Ænus and Maronea; who all repeated what they had before said in the presence of Cecilius in Thessalonica. The senate, after hearing them, sent to Philip other ambassadors, of whom Appius Claudius was the principal, to examine on the spot whether he was withdrawn (as he had promised Cecilius) from the cities of Perrhœbia; to command him, at the same time, to evacuate Ænus and Maronea; and to draw off his troops

[h] Polyb. in Legat. c. xlii. Liv. l. xxxix. n. 33.

from all the castles, territories, and cities, which he possessed on the sea coast of Thrace.

They next admitted to audience Apollonidas, the ambassador whom the Achæans had sent to justify their having refused to give an answer to Cecilius; and to inform the senate of all that had been transacted with regard to the Spartans, who on their side had deputed to Rome Areus and Alcibiades, who both were of the number of the first exiles whom Philopœmen and the Achæans had restored to their country. The circumstance which most exasperated the Achæans was, to see that, notwithstanding the valuable and recent obligation conferred upon them, they had, however, taken upon themselves the odious commission of accusing those who had saved them so unexpectedly, and had procured them the happiness of returning to their houses and families Apollonidas endeavoured to prove, that it would be impossible to settle the affairs of Sparta with greater prudence than Philopœmen and the rest of the Achæans had done; and they likewise exculpated themselves, for having refused to call a general assembly. On the other side, Areus and Alcibiades represented, in the most affecting manner, the lamentable condition to which Sparta was reduced; its walls demolished; its *citizens dragged into Achaia, and reduced to a state of captivity; the sacred laws of Lycurgus, which had made it subsist during so long a series of years, and with so much glory, entirely abolished

The senate, after weighing and comparing the reasons on both sides, ordered the same ambassadors to enquire into this affair as had been nominated to inspect those of Macedon; and desired the Achæans to convene their general assembly, whenever the

* By the decree of the Achæans it had been enacted, that such slaves as had been adopted among the citizens of Sparta, should leave the city and all Laconia; in default of which, the Achæans were empowered to seize and sell them as slaves, which had accordingly been executed.

Roman ambassadors should require it; as the senate admitted them to audience in Rome as often as they asked it.

[1] When Philip was informed by his ambassadors, who had been sent back to him from Rome, that he must absolutely evacuate all the cities of Thrace; in the highest degree of rage, to see his dominions contracted on every side, he vented his fury on the inhabitants of Maronea. Onomastes, who was governor of Thrace, employed Cassander, who was very well known in the city, to execute the barbarous command of the prince. Accordingly, in the dead of night, he led a body of Thracians into it, who fell on the citizens, and cut a great number of them to pieces. Philip having thus wreaked his vengeance on those who were not of his faction, waited calmly for the commissioners, being firmly persuaded that no one would dare to impeach him.

Some time after, Appius arrives; who, upon being informed of the barbarous treatment which the Maroneans had met with, reproached the king of Macedon, in the strongest terms, on that account. The latter resolutely asserted, that he had not been in any manner concerned in the massacre, but that it was wholly occasioned by an insurrection of the populace. "Some," says he, "declaring for Eumenes, "and others for me, a great quarrel arose, and they "butchered one another." He went so far as to challenge them to produce any person who pretended to have any articles to lay to his charge. But who would have dared to impeach him? His punishment would have been immediate; and the aid he might have expected from the Romans was too far off. "It is to no purpose," says Appius to him, "for you to apologize for yourself; I know what "things have been done, as well as the author of "them." These words gave Philip the greatest

[1] Polyb. in Legat. c. xliv. Liv. l. xxxix. n. 34, 35.

anxiety. However, matters were not carried farther at this first interview.

But Appius, the next day, commanded him to send immediately Onomastes and Cassander to Rome, to be examined by the senate on the affair in question, declaring, that there was no other way left for him to clear himself. Philip, upon receiving this order, changed colour, wavered within himself, and hesitated a long time before he made answer. At last, he declared that he would send Cassander, whom the commissioners suspected to be the contriver of the massacre: but he was determined not to send Onomastes, who (he declared) so far from having been in Maronea at the time this bloody tragedy happened, was not even in the neighbourhood of it. The true reason was, that Philip was afraid lest Onomastes, in whom he reposed the utmost confidence, and had never concealed any thing from him, should betray him to the senate. As for Cassander, the instant the commissioners had left Macedon, he put him on board a ship; but, at the same time, sent some persons in his company, who poisoned him in Epirus.

After the departure of the commissioners, who were fully persuaded that Philip had contrived the massacre of Maronea, and was upon the point of breaking with the Romans; the king of Macedon, reflecting in his own mind, and with his friends, that the hatred he bore the Romans, and the strong desire he had to wreak his vengeance on that people, must necessarily soon display itself; would have been very glad to take up arms immediately, and declare war against them; but, not being prepared, he conceived an expedient to gain time. He resolved to send his son Demetrius to Rome, whom, as having been many years a hostage, and having acquired great esteem in that city, he judged very well qualified either to defend him against the accusations with which he might be charged before the senate, or apologize for such faults as he really had committed.

He accordingly made all the preparations necessary for this embassy, and nominated several friends to attend the prince his son on that occasion.

He, at the same time, promised to succour the Byzantines; not that he was sincerely desirous of defending them, but because his bare advancing to aid that people, would strike terror into the petty princes of Thrace, in the neighbourhood of the Propontis, and would prevent their opposing the resolution he had formed of engaging in a war against the Romans. And accordingly having defeated those petty sovereigns in a battle, and taken their chief prisoner, he hereby put it out of their power to annoy him, and returned into Macedon.

[k] The arrival of the Roman commissioners, who were commanded to go from Macedon into Achaia, was expected in Peloponnesus. Lycortas, in order that an answer might be ready for them, summoned a council, in which the affair of the Lacedæmonians was examined. He represented to the assembly, what they had to fear from them; the Romans seeming to favour their interest much more than that of the Achæans. He expatiated chiefly on the ingratitude of Areus and Alcibiades, who, though they owed their return to the Achæans, had however been so base as to undertake the embassy against them to the senate, where they acted and spoke like professed enemies; as if the Achæans had driven them from their country, whereas it was they who had restored them to it. Upon this, great shouts were heard in every part of the assembly, and the president was desired to bring the affair into immediate deliberation. Nothing prevailing but passion and a thirst of revenge, Areus and Alcibiades were condemned to die.

The Roman commissioners arrived a few days after, and the council met at Clitor in Arcadia. This filled the Achæans with the utmost terror; for seeing Areus

[k] Liv. l. xxxix. n. 35—37.

and Alcibiades, whom they had just before condemned to die, arrive with the commissioners, they naturally supposed that the enquiry which was going to be made would be no way favourable to them.

Appius then told them that the senate had been deeply affected with the complaints of the Lacedæmonians, and could not but disapprove of every thing which had been done with respect to them: the murther of those who, on the promise which Philopœmen had made them, had come to plead their cause; the demolition of the walls of Sparta; the abolition of the laws and institutions of Lycurgus, which had spread the fame of that city throughout the world, and made it flourish for several ages.

Lycortas, both as president of the council, and as being of the same opinion with Philopœmen, the author of whatever had been transacted against Lacedæmon, undertook to answer Appius. He showed, first, that as the Lacedæmonians had attacked the exiles, contrary to the tenor of the treaty, which expressly forbid them to make any attempt against the maritime cities; those exiles, in the absence of the Romans, could have recourse only to the Achæan league, which could not be justly blamed for having assisted them to the utmost of their power, in so urgent a necessity. That with regard to the massacre which Appius laid to their charge, it ought not to be imputed to them, but to the exiles, who were then headed by Areus and Alcibiades; and who, by their own immediate impulse, and without being authorized by the Achæans, had fallen with the utmost fury and violence on those whom they considered the authors of their banishment, and of all the rest of the calamities they had suffered. "However "(added Lycortas), it is pretended that we cannot "but own that we were the cause of the abolition of "Lycurgus's laws, and the demolition of the walls "of Sparta. This, indeed, is a real fact; but then "how can this double objection be made to us at

" the same time? The walls in question were not " built by Lycurgus, but by tyrants, who erected " them some few years ago, not for the security " of the city, but for their own safety, and to en- " able themselves to abolish, with impunity, the dis- " cipline and regulations so happily established by " that wise legislator. Were it possible for him " to rise now from the grave, he would be overjoyed " to see those walls destroyed, and would say that he " now recognizes his native country and ancient " Sparta. You should not, O citizens of Sparta, have " waited for Philopœmen or the Achæans; but ought " yourselves to have pulled down those walls with " your own hands, and destroyed even the slightest " trace of tyranny. These were the ignominious scars " of your slavery: and, after having maintained your " liberties during almost eight hundred years; and " been in former times the sovereigns of Greece, " without the support and assistance of walls; they, " for these hundred years, have become the instru- " ments of your slavery, and, in a manner, your shackles " and fetters. With respect to the ancient laws of " Lycurgus, they were suppressed by the tyrants; " and we have only substituted our own, by putting " you upon a level with us in all things."

Addressing himself then to Appius, " I cannot " forbear owning (says he) that the words I have " hitherto spoken, are not such as should be used " from one ally to another; nor by a free nation, " but slaves who speak to their master. For, " in fine, if the voice of the herald, who pro- " claimed us, in the first place, to be free, was not a " vain and empty ceremony; if the treaty concluded " at that time be real and solid; if you are desirous " of sincerely preserving an alliance and friendship " with us; on what can that infinite disparity which " you suppose to be between you Romans and us " Achæans be grounded? I do not enquire into the " treatment which Capua met with, after you had " taken that city: why then do you examine into our

" usage of the Lacedæmonians, after we had con-
" quered them? Some of them were killed: and I
" will suppose that it was by us. But did not you
" strike off the heads of several Campanian senators?
" We levelled the walls of Sparta with the ground;
" but as for you, Romans, you not only dispossessed
" Campanians of their walls, but of their city and lands.
" To this I know you will reply, that the equality ex-
" pressed in the treaties between the Romans and
" Achæans is merely specious, and a bare form of
" words: that we really have but a precarious and
" transmitted liberty, but that the Romans are the
" primary source of authority and empire. Of this,
" Appius, I am but too sensible. However, since
" we must submit to this, I entreat you at least, how
" wide a difference soever you may set between
" yourselves and us, not to put your enemies and our
" own upon a level with us, who are your allies;
" especially, not to show them better treatment than
" you do to us. They require us, by forswearing
" ourselves, to dissolve and annul all we have enacted
" by oath; and to revoke that, which by being written
" in our records, and engraved on marble, in order
" to preserve the remembrance of it for ever, is be-
" come a sacred monument, which it is not lawful
" for us to violate. We revere you, O Romans; and
" if you will have it so, we also fear you: but then
" we think it glorious to have a greater reverence and
" fear for the immortal gods."

The greatest part of the assembly applauded this speech, and all were unanimous in their opinion, that he had spoken like a true magistrate; it was therefore necessary for the Romans to act with vigour, or resolve to lose their authority. Appius, without descending to particulars, advised them, whilst they still enjoyed their freedom, and had not received any orders, to make a merit with the Romans, of enacting of their own accord what might afterwards be enjoined them. They were grieved

at these words; but were instructed by them, not to persist obstinately in the refusal of what should be demanded. All they therefore desired was, that the Romans would decree whatever they pleased with regard to Sparta; but not oblige the Achæans to break their oath, by annulling their decree themselves. As to the sentence that was just before passed against Areus and Alcibiades, it was immediately repealed.

[l] The Romans pronounced judgment the year following. The chief articles of the ordinance were, that those persons who had been condemned by the Achæans should be recalled and restored; that all sentences relating to this affair should be repealed, and that Sparta should continue a member of the Achæan league. [m] Pausanias adds an article not taken notice of by Livy, that the walls which had been demolished should be rebuilt. Q. Marcius was appointed commissary to settle the affairs of Macedon, and those of Peloponnesus, where great feuds and disturbances subsisted, especially between the Achæans on one side, and the Messenians and Lacedæmonians on the other. [n] They all had sent ambassadors to Rome: but it does not appear that the senate was in any great haste to put an end to their differences. The answer they made to the Lacedæmonians was, that the Romans were determined not to trouble themselves any further about their affairs. The Achæans demanded aid of the Romans against the Messenians, pursuant to the treaty; or at least, not to suffer arms or provisions to be transported out of Italy to the latter people. It was answered them, that when any cities broke their alliance with the Achæans, the senate did not think itself obliged to enter into those disputes; for that this would open a door to ruptures and

[l] Liv. l. xxxviii. n. 48. [m] In Achaic. p. 414. [n] Polyb. in Legat. c. li.

divisions, and even, in some measure, give a sanction to them.

In these proceedings appears the artful and jealous policy of the Romans, which tended solely to weaken Philip and the Achæans, of whose power they were jealous; and who covered their ambitious designs with the specious pretence of succouring the weak and oppressed.

SECT. X. *Philopœmen besieges Messene. He is taken prisoner, and put to death by the Messenians. Messene surrendered to the Achæans. The splendid funeral procession of Philopœmen, whose ashes are carried to Megalopolis. Sequel of the affair relating to the Spartan exiles. The death of Ptolemy Epiphanes, who is succeeded by Philometor his son.*

[a]DINOCRATES the Messenian, who had a particular enmity to Philopœmen, had drawn off Messene from the Achæan league; and was meditating how he might best seize upon a considerable post, called Corone, near that city. Philopœmen, then seventy years of age, and generalissimo of the Achæans for the eighth time, was then sick. However, the instant the news of this was brought him, he set out, notwithstanding his indisposition, made a forced march, and advanced towards Messene with a body of forces, not very numerous, but consisting of the flower of the Megalopolitan youth. Dinocrates, who had marched out against him, was soon put to flight: but five hundred troopers, who guarded the open country of Messene, happening to come up and reinforce him, he faced about and routed Philopœmen. This general, whose sole concern was to save the gallant youths who had followed him in this expedition, performed

A. M. 3821. Ant. J. C. 183.

[a] Liv. l. xxxix. n. 48. Plut. in Philop. p. 366—368. Polyb. in Legat. c. lii. liii.

the most extraordinary acts of bravery; but happening to fall from his horse, and receiving a deep wound in his head, he was taken prisoner by the enemy, who carried him to Messene. Plutarch considers this ill fortune of Philopœmen as the punishment for a rash and arrogant expression that had escaped him upon his hearing a certain general applauded: "Ought that man," says he, "to be va-"lued, who suffers himself to be taken alive by the "enemy, whilst he has arms to defend himself?"

As soon as the news was brought to Messene, that Philopœmen was taken prisoner, and on his way to that city, the Messenians were in such transports of joy that they all ran to the gates of the city; not being able to persuade themselves of the truth of what they heard till they saw him themselves, so greatly improbable did such an event appear to them. To satisfy the violent curiosity of the inhabitants, many of whom had not yet been able to get a sight of him, they were forced to show the illustrious prisoner on the theatre, where multitudes flocked to see him. When they beheld Philopœmen dragged along in chains, most of the spectators were so much moved to compassion that the tears trickled from their eyes. There even was heard a murmur among the people, which resulted from humanity and a very laudable gratitude: "That the Messenians ought to "call to mind the great services done by Philopœ-"men, and his having preserved the liberty of Achaia "by the defeat of Nabis the tyrant." But the magistrates did not suffer him to be long exhibited in this manner, lest the pity of the people should be attended with ill consequences. They therefore took him away on a sudden; and, after consulting together, caused him to be conveyed to a place called *the treasury*. This was a subterraneous dungeon, whither neither light not air entered from without; and which had no door to it, but was shut with a huge stone that was rolled over the entrance. In this dun-

geon they imprisoned Philopœmen, and posted a guard round every part of it.

As soon as it was night, and all the people were withdrawn, Dinocrates caused the stone to be rolled away, and the executioner to descend into the dungeon with a dose of poison to Philopœmen, commanding him not to stir till he had swallowed it. The moment the illustrious Megalopolitan perceived the light, and saw the man advance towards him, with a lamp in one hand and the bowl of poison in the other, he raised himself with the utmost difficulty (for he was very weak), sat down, and then taking the cup, he enquired of the executioner, whether he could tell what was become of the young Megalopolitans his followers, and particularly of Lycortas? The executioner answering, that he heard that almost all of them had saved themselves by flight; Philopœmen thanked him by a nod, and looking kindly on him, "You bring me," says he, "good news; and "I find we are not entirely unfortunate:" after which, without breathing the least complaint, he swallowed the deadly dose, and laid himself again on his cloak. The poison was very speedy in its effects; for Philopœmen being extremely weak and feeble, he expired in a moment.

When the news of his death was spread among the Achæans, all their cities were inexpressibly afflicted and dejected. Immediately all their young men who were of age to bear arms, and all their magistrates, came to Megalopolis. Here a grand council being summoned, it was unanimously resolved not to delay a moment taking vengeance for so horrid a deed; and accordingly, having elected on the spot Lycortas for their general, they advanced with the utmost fury into Messenia, and filled every part of it with blood and slaughter. The Messenians, having now no refuge left, and being unable to defend themselves by force of arms, sent a deputation to the Achæans, to desire that an end might be put to the

war, and to beg pardon for their past faults. Lycortas, moved at their entreaties, did not think it advisable to treat them as their furious and insolent revolt seemed to deserve. He told them, that there was no other way for them to expect a peace than by delivering up the authors of the revolt, and of the death of Philopœmen; by submitting all their affairs to the disposal of the Achæans, and receiving a garrison into their citadel. These conditions were accepted, and executed immediately. Dinocrates, to prevent the ignominy of dying by an executioner, laid violent hands on himself, in which he was imitated by all those who had advised the putting of Philopœmen to death. Lycortas caused those to be delivered up who had advised the insulting of Philopœmen. These were undoubtedly the persons who were stoned round his tomb, as we shall soon see.

The funeral obsequies of Philopœmen were then solemnized. After the body had been consumed by the flames, his ashes collected, and deposited in an urn, the train set out for Megalopolis. This procession did not so much resemble a funeral as a triumph, or rather it was a mixture of both. First came the infantry, their brows adorned with crowns, and all shedding floods of tears. Then followed the Messenian prisoners bound in chains: afterwards the general's son, young *Polybius, carrying the urn adorned with ribbons and crowns, and accompanied by the noblest and most illustrious Achæans. The urn was followed by all the cavalry, whose arms glittered magnificently, and whose horses were all richly caparisoned, who closed the march, and did not seem too much dejected at this mournful scene, nor too much elate from their victory. All the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns and villages flocked to meet the procession, as if they came in honour of a

* This was Polybius the historian, who might then be about two-and-twenty.

victory obtained. All possible honours were done to Philopœmen at his interment, and the Messenian captives were stoned round his sepulchre. The cities in general, by decrees enacted for that purpose, ordered the greatest honours to be paid him, and erected many statues to him with magnificent inscriptions.

Several *years after, at the time that Corinth was burned and destroyed by Mummius the proconsul, a false accuser (a Roman), as I observed elsewhere, used his utmost endeavours to get them broken to pieces; prosecuted him criminally, as if alive; charging him with having been an enemy to the Romans, and of discovering a hatred for them on all occasions. The cause was heard in council before Mummius. The slanderer exhibited all his articles of impeachment, and produced his proofs. They were answered by Polybius, who refuted them with great solidity and eloquence. It is great pity so interesting a piece should have been lost. Neither Mummius nor his council would permit the monuments of that great man's glory to be destroyed, though he had opposed, like a bulwark, the successes of the Romans: for the Romans of that age, says Plutarch, made the just and proper discrimination between virtue and interest; they distinguished the glorious and honourable from the profitable; and were persuaded, that worthy persons ought to honour and revere the memory of men who signalized themselves by their virtue, though they had been their enemies.

Livy tells us, that the Greek as well as Roman writers observe, that three illustrious men, Philopœmen, Hannibal, and Scipio, happened to die in the same year, or thereabouts; thus putting Philopœmen in parallel, and, as it were, upon a level, with the two most celebrated generals of the two most powerful nations in the world. I believe I have already given the reader a sufficient idea of his character, so

* Thirty-seven years.

shall only repeat what I before observed, that Philopœmen was called the last of the Greeks, as Brutus was said to be the last of the Romans.

The Messenians, by their imprudent conduct, being reduced to the most deplorable condition, were, by the goodness and generosity of Lycortas and the Achæans, restored to the league from which they had withdrawn themselves. Several other cities, which, from the example they set them, had also renounced it, renewed their alliance with it. Such commonly is the happy effect which a seasonable act of clemency produces; whereas a violent and excessive severity, that breathes nothing but blood and vengeance, often hurries people to despair; and so far from proving a remedy to evils, only inflames and exasperates them the more.

When news came to Rome, that the Achæans had happily terminated their war with the Messenians, the ambassadors were addressed in terms quite different from those which had been used to them before. The senate told them, that they had been particularly careful not to suffer either arms or provisions to be carried from Italy to Messene; an answer which manifestly discovers the insincerity of the Romans, and the little regard they had to good faith in their transactions with other nations. They seemed, at first, desirous of giving the signal to all the cities engaged in the Achæan league, to take up arms; and now, they endeavoured to flatter the Achæans into an opinion, that they had sought all opportunities to serve them.

It is manifest on this occasion, that the Roman senate consented to what had been transacted, because it was not in their power to oppose it; that they wanted to make a merit of this with the Achæans, who possessed almost the whole force of Peloponnesus; that they were very cautious of giving the least umbrage to this league, at a time when they could place no dependence on Philip; when the Ætolians were disgusted; and when Antiochus, by

joining with that people, might engage in some enterprise which might have been of ill consequence to the Romans.

[p] I have related Hannibal's death in the history of the Carthaginians. After retiring from Antiochus's court, he had fled to Prusias king of Bithynia, who was then at war with Eumenes king of Pergamus. Hannibal did that prince great service. Both sides were preparing for a naval engagement, on which occasion Eumenes's fleet consisted of a much greater number of ships than that of Prusias. But Hannibal opposed stratagem to force. He had got together a great number of venomous serpents, and had filled several earthen vessels with them. The instant the signal for battle was given, he commanded the officers and sailors to fall upon Eumenes's galley only (informing them at the same time of a sign by which they should distinguish it from the rest); and to annoy the enemy no otherwise than by throwing the earthen vessels into the rest of the galleys. At first this was only laughed at; the sailors not imagining that these earthen vessels could be of the least service: but when the serpents were seen gliding over every part of the galleys, the soldiers and rowers, now studious only of preserving themselves from those venomous creatures, did not once think of the enemy. In the mean time, the royal galley was so warmly attacked, that it was very near being taken; and it was with the utmost difficulty that the king made his escape. Prusias, by Hannibal's assistance, gained several victories by land. This prince being one day afraid to venture a battle, because the victims had not been propitious: "What," * says Hannibal, "do you rely more upon the liver of a beast "than upon the advice and experience of Hannibal?"

[p] Liv. l. xxxix. n. 51. Cor. Nep. in Annib. c. x.—xii. Justin. l. xxxii. c. 4.

* *An tu, inquit, vitulinæ carunculæ, quàm imperatori veteri mavis credere?—Unius hostiæ jecinori longo experimento testatam gloriam suam postponi, æquo animo non tulit.* Val. Max. l. iii. c. 7.

To prevent his falling into the hands of the Romans, who required Prusias to deliver him up, he took a dose of poison, which brought him to his end.

A. M. 3822. Ant. J. C. 182. [q] I before observed, that the Romans, among many other articles, had decreed, that Sparta should be admitted into the Achæan league. The ambassadors being returned, and having reported the answer which had been received from the senate, Lycortas assembled the people at Sicyon, to deliberate whether Sparta should be admitted into the Achæan league. To incline the populace to acquiesce in this proposition, he represented that the Romans, to whose disposal that city had been abandoned, would no longer be burthened with it: that they had declared to the ambassadors, that they were no ways concerned in this affair: that the Spartans who were engaged in the administration of public affairs, were very desirous of that union, which (he observed) could not fail of being attended with great advantage to the Achæan league, as the first exiles, who had behaved with great ingratitude and impiety towards them, would not be included in it; but would be banished from the city, and other citizens substituted in their room. Diophanes and some other persons undertook to defend the cause of the exiles. However, notwithstanding their opposition, the council decreed, that Sparta should be admitted into the league, and accordingly it was so. With regard to the first exiles, those only were pardoned, who could not be convicted of engaging in any attempt against the Achæan republic.

When the affair was ended, ambassadors were sent to Rome, in the name of all the parties concerned. The senate, after giving audience to those sent by Sparta and by the exiles, said nothing to the ambassadors, which tended to show that they were disgusted at what had passed. With respect to those who had been lately sent into banishment, the senate promised to write to the Achæans,

[q] Polyb. in Leg. c. liii.

to obtain leave for them to return into their native country. Some days after, Bippus, the Achæan deputy, being arrived in Rome, was introduced into the senate; and there gave an account of the manner in which the Messenians had been restored to their former state: and the senators were not only satisfied with every thing he related to them, but treated him with abundant marks of honour and amity.

[r] The Lacedæmonian exiles were no sooner returned from Rome into Peloponnesus, than they delivered to the Achæans the letters which the senate had sent by them, and by which they were desired to permit the exiles to settle again in their native country. It was answered, that the purport of those letters should be considered at the return of the Achæan ambassadors from Rome. Bippus arrived from thence a few days after, and declared that the senate had written in favour of the exiles, not so much out of affection for them, as to get rid of their importunities. The Achæans hearing this, thought it requisite not to make any change in what had been decreed. A. M. 3823. Ant. J. C. 181.

[s] Hyperbates, having been elected general of the Achæans, again debated in the council, whether any notice should be taken of the letters which the senate had written, concerning the re-establishment of the exiles who had been banished from Sparta. Lycortas was of opinion, that the Achæans ought to adhere to what had been decreed. "When the "Romans," says he, "listen favourably to such "complaints and entreaties of unfortunate persons, "as appear to them just and reasonable, they, in "this, act a very becoming part. But when it is "represented to them, that among the favours which "are requested at their hands, some are not in their "power to bestow, and others would reflect disho- A. M. 3824. Ant. J. C. 180.

[r] Polyb. in Leg. c. liv.
[s] Polyb. in Leg. c. lviii.

" nour, and be very prejudicial to their allies, on " these occasions they do not use to persist obsti- " nately in their opinions, or exact from such allies " an implicit obedience to their commands. This " is exactly our case at present. Let us inform the " Romans, that we cannot obey their orders without " infringing the sacred oaths we have taken, with- " out violating the laws on which our league is " founded; and then they will undoubtedly wave " their resolutions, and confess that it is with the " greatest reason we refuse to obey their commands." Hyperbates and Callicrates were of a contrary opinion. They were for having implicit obedience paid to the Romans; and declared, that all laws, oaths, and treaties, ought to be sacrificed to their will. In this contrariety of opinions, it was resolved that a deputation should be sent to the senate, in order to represent the reasons given by Lycortas in council. Callicrates, Lysiades, and Aratus, were the ambassadors, to whom instructions were given in conformity to what had been deliberated.

When these ambassadors were arrived at Rome, Callicrates, being introduced into the senate, acted in direct opposition to his instructions. He not only had the assurance to censure those who differed in opinion from him, but took the liberty to tell the senate what they ought to do. " If the Greeks (says " he, directing himself to the senators) do not obey " you; if they pay no regard either to the letters or " orders which you send them, you must blame " yourselves alone for it. In all the states of Greece, " there are now two parties; one of which asserts, " that all your orders ought to be obeyed; and that " laws and treaties, in a word, that all things should " pay homage to your will and pleasure; the other " party pretends, that it is fitting that laws, treaties, " and oaths, ought to take place of your will; and " are for ever exhorting the people to adhere invio- " lably to them. Of these two parties, the last

"suits best with the genius and character of the "Achæans, and has the greatest influence over the "people. What is the consequence of this? That "those who comply with your measures are detested "by the common people, whilst such as oppose your "decrees are honoured and applauded. Whereas, "if the senate would show favour to such as espouse "their interest cordially, the chief magistrates and "officers of all the republics would instantly declare "for the Romans; and the people, intimidated by "this, would soon follow their example. But, whilst "you show an indifference on this head, you must "expect that all the chiefs will certainly oppose you, "as the infallible means of acquiring the love and re-"spect of the people. And accordingly we see, that "many people, whose only merit consists in their "making the strongest opposition to your orders, and "a pretended zeal for the defence and preserva-"tion of the laws of their country, have been raised "to the most exalted employments in their state. In "case you do not much care whether the Greeks "are, or are not, at your devotion, then indeed your "present conduct suits exactly your sentiments. "But if you would have them execute your orders, "and receive your letters with respect, reflect seri-"ously on this matter; otherwise be assured that "they will, on all occasions, declare against your "commands. You may judge of the truth of this "from their present behaviour towards you. How "long is it since you commanded them, by your "letters, to recall the Lacedæmonian exiles? Ne-"vertheless, so far from recalling them, they have "published a quite contrary decree, and have bound "themselves by oath never to reinstate them. This "ought to be a lesson to you, and show how cautious "you should be for the future."

Callicrates, after making this speech, withdrew. The exiles then came in, told their business in few words, but in such as were well adapted to move compassion, and then retired.

A speech so well calculated to favour the interest of Rome as that of Callicrates, could not but be very agreeable to the senate. Thus it was that the Greeks began to throw themselves spontaneously into the arms of slavery, prostituted of their own accord the liberty of which their ancestors had been so jealous, and paid a submission and homage to the Romans, which they had always refused to the *Great King* of Persia. Some flatterers and ambitious traitors, regardless of every thing but their own interest, sold and sacrificed the independence and glory of Greece for ever; discovered the weak side of republics with regard to their internal constitution; pointed out the methods by which they might be weakened, and at last crushed; and furnished themselves the chains in which they were to be bound.

In consequence of this speech, it was soon concluded, that it would be proper to increase the power and credit of those who made it their business to defend the authority of the Romans, and to humble such as should presume to oppose it. Polybius observes, that this was the first time that the fatal resolution was taken, to humble and depress those who, in their respective countries, had the most noble way of thinking; and, on the contrary, to heap riches and honours on all such who, either right or wrong, should declare in favour of the Romans; a resolution which soon after increased the herd of flatterers in all the republics, and very much lessened the number of the true friends of liberty. From this period, the Romans made it one of the constant maxims of their policy, to oppress by all possible methods whoever ventured to oppose their ambitious projects. This single maxim may serve as a key to the latent principles and motives of the government of this republic, and show us what idea we ought to entertain of the pretended equity and moderation they sometimes display, but which does not long support itself, and of which a just judgment cannot be formed but by the consequences.

To conclude, the senate, in order to get the exiles restored to their country, did not think it sufficient to write to the Achæans alone, but to the Ætolians, Epirots, Athenians, Bœotians, and Acarnanians, as if they intended to incense all Greece against the Achæans. And, in their answer to the ambassadors, they did not make the least mention of any one but Callicrates, whose example, the senate observed, it would be well for the magistrates of all other cities to follow.

That deputy, after receiving this answer, returned in triumph, without reflecting that he was the cause of all the calamities which Greece, and particularly Achaia, were upon the point of experiencing. For hitherto, a sort of equality had been observed between the Achæans and Romans, which the latter thought fit to permit, out of gratitude for the considerable services the Achæans had done them; and for the inviolable fidelity with which they had adhered to them in the most perilous junctures, as in the wars against Philip and Antiochus. The members of this league distinguished themselves at that time in a most conspicuous manner by their authority, their forces, their zeal for liberty; and, above all, by the shining merit and exalted reputation of their commanders. But Callicrates's treason, for we may justly bestow that name upon it, gave it a deadly wound. The Romans, says Polybius, noble in their sentiments, and full of humanity, are moved at the complaints of the wretched, and think it their duty to afford their aid to all who fly to them for protection; and this it was that inclined them to favour the cause of the Lacedæmonian exiles. But if any one, on whose fidelity they may safely depend, suggests to them the inconveniencies they would bring upon themselves should they grant certain favours, they generally return to a just way of thinking, and correct, so far as lies in their power, what they may have done amiss. Here, on the contrary, Callicrates studies nothing but how he may best work upon their passions by flattery.

He had been sent to Rome, to plead the cause of the Achæans, and, by a criminal and unparalleled prevarication, he declares against his clients; and becomes the advocate of their enemies, by whom he had suffered himself to be corrupted. At his return to Achaia, he spread so artfully the terror of the Roman name, and intimidated the people to such a degree, that he got himself elected captain-general. He was no sooner invested with this command, than he restored the exiles of Lacedæmonia and Messene to their country.

Polybius, on this occasion, praises exceedingly the humanity of the Romans, the tenderness with which they listen to the complaints of the unfortunate, and their readiness to atone for such unjust actions as they may have committed, when they are once made acquainted with them. I know not whether the applauses he gives them will not admit of great abatement. The reader must call to mind that he wrote this in Rome, and under the eye of the Romans, after Greece had been reduced to a state of slavery. We are not to expect from an historian, in a state of submission and dependence, so much veracity as he very possibly would have observed in a state of freedom, and at a time when men were permitted to speak the truth; and we must not blindly believe every circumstance of this kind advanced by him; facts have more force, and speak in a clearer manner than he does. The Romans were not eager to commit injustice themselves, whenever they had an opportunity of employing foreign means for that purpose, which procured them the same advantage, and served to conceal their unjust policy.

A. M. 3822. Ant. J. C. 182. [1] Eumenes, in the mean time, was engaged in war against Pharnaces, king of Pontus. The latter took Sinope, a very strong city of Pontus, of which his successors remained in possession ever afterwards. Several cities made complaints against this at Rome,

[1] Polyb. in Leg. c. 51—53—55—59.

Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, who was united in interest with Eumenes, sent also ambassadors thither. The Romans several times employed their mediation and authority to put an end to their differences; but Pharnaces was insincere on these occasions, and always broke his engagements. Contrary to the faith of treaties, he took the field, and was opposed by the confederate kings. Several enterprises ensued; and after some years had been spent in this manner, a peace was concluded. A. M. 3824. Ant. J. C. 180.

Never were more embassies sent than at the time we are now speaking of. Ambassadors were seen in in all places, either coming from the provinces to Rome, or going from Rome to the provinces, or from the allies and nations to one another. [u] The Achæans deputed, in this quality (to Ptolemy Epiphanes, king of Egypt), Lycortas, Polybius his son, and the young Aratus, to return that monarch thanks for the presents he had already bestowed on their republic, and the new offers he had made them. However, these ambassadors did not leave Achaia, because when they were preparing to set out, advice came that Ptolemy was dead.

[x] This prince, after having overcome the rebels within his kingdom, as has been already mentioned, resolved to attack Seleucus, king of Syria. When he began to form the plan for carrying on this war, one of his principal officers asked, by what methods he would raise money for the execution of it. He replied, that his friends were his treasure. The principal courtiers concluded from this answer, that, as he considered their purses as the only fund he had to carry on this war, they were upon the point of being ruined by it. To prevent therefore that consequence, which had more weight with them than the allegiance they owed their sovereign, they caused him to be poisoned. This monarch was thus dis- A. M. 3824. Ant. J. C. 180.

[u] Polyb. in Leg. c. lvii. [x] Hieron. in Daniel.

patched in his twenty-ninth year, after he had sitten twenty-four years on the throne. Ptolemy Philometor, his son, who was but six years of age, succeeded him, and Cleopatra his mother was declared regent.

CHAP. II.

SECT. I. *Complaints made at Rome against Philip. Demetrius, his son, who was in that city, is sent back to his father, accompanied by some ambassadors. A secret conspiracy of Perseus against his brother Demetrius with regard to the succession to the throne. He accuses him before Philip. Speeches of both those princes. Philip, upon a new impeachment, causes Demetrius to be put to death; but afterwards discovers his innocence and Perseus's guilt. Whilst Philip is meditating to punish the latter, he dies, and Perseus succeeds him.*

A. M. 3821. Ant. J. C. 183. [y] EVER since the spreading of a report among the states contiguous to Macedonia, that such as went to Rome to complain against Philip were heard there, and that many of them had found their advantage in having so done; a great number of cities, and even private persons, made their complaints in that city, against a prince who was a very troublesome neighbour to them all; with the hopes either of having the injuries redressed which they pretended to have received; or, at least, to console themselves in some measure for them, by being allowed the liberty to deplore them. King Eumenes, among the rest, to whom, by order of the Roman commissioners and senate, the fortresses in Thrace were to be given up, sent ambassadors, at whose head was Athenæus his brother, to inform the

[y] Liv. l. xxxix. n. 46, 47.

senate that Philip did not withdraw his garrisons in Thrace as he had promised; and to complain of his sending succour into Bithynia to Prusias, who was then at war with Eumenes.

Demetrius, the son of Philip, king of Macedon, was at that time in Rome, whither, as has been already mentioned, he had been sent by his father, in order to watch over his interests in that city. It was naturally his business to answer the several accusations brought against his father: but the senate, imagining that this would be a very difficult task for so young a prince, who was not accustomed to speak in public; to spare him that trouble, sent to him to enquire, whether the king his father had not given him some memorials; and contented themselves with his reading them. Philip therein justified himself to the best of his power, with respect to most of the articles which were exhibited against him; but he especially showed how much he was displeased at the decrees which the Roman commissioners had enacted against him, and at the treatment he had met with from them. The senate saw plainly what all this tended to; and as the young prince endeavoured to apologize for certain particulars, and with respect to others assured them, that every thing should be done agreeably to the will of the Romans, the senate replied, that his father Philip could not have done more wisely, nor what was more agreeable to them, than in sending his son Demetrius to make his excuses: that, as to past transactions, the senate might dissemble, forget, and bear with a great many things: that, as to the future, they relied on the promise which Demetrius gave: that, although he was going to leave Rome, in order to return to Macedon, he left there (as the hostage of his inclinations) his own good will and attachment for Rome, which he might retain inviolably, without infringing in any manner the duty he owed his father: that out of regard to him, ambassadors should be sent to Macedon, to rectify, peaceably and without noise,

whatever might have been hitherto amiss: and that, as to the rest, the senate was well pleased to let Philip know, that he was obliged to his son Demetrius for the tenderness with which the Romans behaved towards him. These marks of distinction which the senate gave him with the view of exalting his credit in his father's court, only animated envy against him, and at length occasioned his destruction.

[z] The return of Demetrius to Macedon, and the arrival of the ambassadors, produced different effects, according to the various dispositions of men's minds. The people, who extremely feared the consequences of a rupture with the Romans, and the war that was preparing, were highly pleased with Demetrius, from the hopes that he would be the mediator and author of a peace; not to mention that they considered him as the successor to the throne of Macedon, after the demise of his father. For though he was the younger son, he had one great advantage over his brother, and that was, his being born of a mother who was Philip's lawful wife; whereas Perseus was the son of a concubine, and even reputed supposititious. Besides, it was not doubted but that the Romans would place Demetrius on his father's throne, Perseus not having any credit with them. And these were the common reports.

On one side also, Perseus was greatly uneasy; as he feared, that the advantage of being elder brother would be but a very feeble title against a brother superior to him in all other respects: and on the other, Philip, imagining that it would not be in his power to dispose of the throne as he pleased, beheld with a jealous eye, and dreaded, the too great influence of his younger son. It was also a great mortification to him to see rising, in his life-time, and before his eyes, a kind of second court in the concourse of Macedonians who crowded about Demetrius. The young prince himself did not take suffi-

[z] Liv. l. xxxix. n. 53.

cient care to prevent or soothe the growing disaffection to his person. Instead of endeavouring to suppress envy by gentleness, modesty, and complaisance, he only inflamed and exasperated it, by a certain air of haughtiness which he had brought with him from Rome, valuing himself upon the marks of distinction with which he had been honoured in that city; and not scrupling to declare, that the senate had granted him many things which they had before refused his father.

Philip's discontent was still more inflamed on the arrival of the new ambassadors, to whom his son paid his court more assiduously than to himself; and when he found he should be obliged to abandon Thrace, to withdraw his garrisons from that country, and to execute other things, either pursuant to the decrees of the first commissioners, or to the fresh orders he had received from Rome; orders and decrees with which he complied very much against his will, and with the highest secret resentment; but with which he was forced to comply, to prevent his being involved in a war for which he was not sufficiently prepared. To remove all suspicion of his harbouring the least design that way, he carried his arms into the very heart of Thrace, against people with whom the Romans did not concern themselves in any manner.

[a]However, his inclinations were not unknown at Rome. Marcius, one of the commissioners, who had communicated the orders of the senate to Philip, wrote to Rome to inform them, that all the king's discourses, and the several steps he took, visibly threatened an approaching war. To make himself the more secure of the maritime cities, he forced all the inhabitants, with their families, to leave them; settled them in * the most northern part of Macedon; and substituted in their places Thracians, and

[a] Liv. l. xl. n. 3—5.

* Æmathia, called formerly Pœonia.

other barbarous nations, on whom he believed he might more securely depend. These changes occasioned a general murmur in every part of Macedon; and all the provinces echoed with the cries and complaints of these poor unhappy people, who were forced away from their houses and their native place, to be confined in unknown countries. Nothing was heard on all sides but imprecations and curses against the king, who was the author of these innovations.

A. M. 3822. Ant. J. C. 182. But Philip, so far from being moved at their grief, grew more cruel from it. Every thing seemed to afford him cause for suspicion, and gave him umbrage. He had put to death a great number of persons, upon suspicion that they favoured the Romans. He thought his own life could not be safe, but by retaining their children in his own power, and he imprisoned them under a strong guard, in order to have them all destroyed one after another. Nothing could be more horrid in itself than such a design; but the sad catastrophe of one of the most powerful and most illustrious families in Thessaly, made it still more execrable.

He had put to death, many years before, Herodicus, one of the principal persons of the country, and, some time after, his two sons-in-law. Theoxena and Archo, his two daughters, had continued widows, each of them having a son, both very young. Theoxena, who was sought for in marriage by the richest and most powerful noblemen in Thessaly, preferred widowhood to the nuptial state; but Archo married a nobleman of the Ænean nation, called Poris, and brought him several children, whom Archo, dying early, left infants. Theoxena, that she might have an opportunity of bringing up her sister's children under her eye, married Poris; took the same care of them as she did of her own son; and was as tender of them as if she had been their mother. When news was brought her of Philip's cruel edict, to confine the children of those who had been put to death; plainly foreseeing that they would be given

up to the brutal fury of the king and his officers, she formed a surprising resolution, declaring that she would imbrue her hands in the blood of all her children, rather than suffer them to fall into the merciless power of Philip. Poris, whose soul was struck with horror at this design, told her, in order to divert her from it, that he would send all their children to Athens, to some friends on whose fidelity and humanity he could safely rely, and that he himself would convey them thither. Accordingly, they all set out from Thessalonica, in order to sail to the city of Ænea, to assist at a solemn festival, which was solemnized annually in honour of Æneas their founder. Having spent the whole day in festivity and rejoicing, about midnight, when every body else was asleep, they embarked on board a galley which Poris had prepared for them, as if intending to return to Thessalonica, but, in reality, to go to Eubœa; when unhappily a contrary wind prevented them from advancing forwards in spite of their utmost efforts, and drove them back towards the coast. At day-break, the king's officers, who were posted to guard the port, having perceived them, immediately sent off an armed sloop; commanding the captain of it, upon the severest penalties, not to return without the galley. As it drew nearer, Poris was seen every moment, either exhorting the ship's company, in the strongest terms, to exert themselves to the utmost in order to get forward; or lifting up his hands to heaven, and imploring the assistance of the gods. In the mean time, Theoxena, resuming her former resolution, and presenting to her children the poison she had prepared, and the daggers she had brought with her; "Death "(says she) alone can free you from your miseries; "and here is what will procure you that last sad "refuge. Secure yourselves from the king's horrid "cruelty by the method you like best. Go, my "dear children, such of you as are more advanced "in years, and take these poignards; or, in case a

"slower kind of death may be more grateful, take "this poison." The enemy were now nearly close to them, and the mother was very urgent. They obeyed her commands, and all, having either swallowed the deadly draughts, or plunged the daggers in their bosoms, were thrown into the sea. Theoxena, after giving her husband a last sad embrace, leaped into the sea with him. Philip's officers then seized the galley, but did not find one person alive in it.

The horror of this tragical event revived and inflamed, to a prodigious degree, the hatred against Philip. He was publicly detested as a bloody tyrant; and people vented, in all places, both against him and his children, dreadful imprecations, which, says Livy, soon had their effect; the gods having abandoned him to a blind fury, which prompted him to wreak his vengeance against his own children.

[b] Perseus saw, with infinite pain and affliction, that the regard of the Macedonians for his brother Demetrius, and his credit and authority among the Romans, increased daily. Having now no hopes left of being able to ascend the throne but by criminal methods, he made them his only refuge. He began, by sounding the disposition of those who were in greatest favour with the king, and by addressing them in obscure and ambiguous words. At first, some seemed not to enter into his views, and rejected his proposals, from believing that there was more to be hoped from Demetrius. But afterwards, observing that the hatred of Philip for the Romans increased sensibly, which Perseus endeavoured daily to inflame, and which Demetrius, on the contrary, opposed to the utmost; they changed their opinion. Judging naturally that the latter, whose youth and inexperience made him not sufficiently upon his guard against the artifices of his brother, would at last fall a victim to them; they thought it their in-

[b] Liv. l. xl. n. 5—16.

terest to promote an event which would happen without their participation, and to go over immediately to the strongest party. They accordingly did so, and devoted themselves entirely to Perseus.

Having postponed the execution of their more remote designs, they were of opinion that, for the present, it would be proper for them to employ their utmost efforts to exasperate the king against the Romans, and to inspire him with thoughts of war, to which he was already very much inclined. At the same time, to render Demetrius every day more suspected, they industriously, on all occasions, made the discourse turn in the king's presence upon the Romans; some expressing the utmost contempt for their laws and customs, others for their exploits; some for the city of Rome, which, according to them, was void of ornaments and magnificent buildings; and others, even for such of the Romans as were in highest estimation; making them all pass in this manner in a kind of review. Demetrius, who did not perceive the scope and tendency of all these discourses, never failed, out of zeal for the Romans, and by way of contradiction to his brother, to take fire on these occasions. Hence, without considering the consequences, he rendered himself suspected and odious to the king, and opened the way for the accusations and calumnies preparing against him. Accordingly his father did not communicate to him any of the designs which he was continually meditating against Rome, and unbosomed himself only to Perseus.

Some ambassadors whom he had sent to the Bastarnæ, to desire aid from them, returned about the time we are now speaking of. They had brought with them several youths of quality, and even princes of the blood, one of whom promised his sister in marriage to one of Philip's sons. This new alliance with a powerful nation very much exalted the king's courage. Perseus taking advantage of this opportunity, "Of what use (says he) can all this be to "us? We have not so much to hope from foreign

" aids, as to dread from domestic foes. We harbour " in our bosoms, I will not say a traitor, but at least " a spy. The Romans, ever since he was a hostage " among them, have restored us his body; but as " to his heart and inclinations, those he has left " with them. Almost all the Macedonians fix al- " ready their eyes on him; and are persuaded, that " they shall never have any king but him whom the " Romans shall please to set over them." By such speeches, the old king's disgust was perpetually kept up, who was already but too much alienated from Demetrius.

About this time the army was reviewed, at a festival solemnized every year with religious pomp, the ceremonies whereof were as follow: * A bitch, says Livy, is divided into two parts; being cut, long-ways, through the middle of the body, after which half is laid on each side of the road. The troops under arms are made to march between the two parts of the victim thus divided. At the head of this march, the shining arms of all the kings of Macedon are carried, tracing them backwards to the most remote antiquity. The king, with the princes his children, appear afterward, followed by all the royal household, and the companies of guards. The march is closed by the multitude of the Macedonians. On the present occasion, the two princes walked on each side of the king; Perseus being thirty years of age, and Demetrius twenty-five; the one in the vigour, the other in the flower of his age; sons who might have formed their father's happiness, had his mind been rightly disposed and reasonable.

The custom was, after the sacrifices which accompanied this ceremony were over, to exhibit a kind of tournament, and to divide the army into two bodies, who fought with no other arms than foils,

* We find, in Scripture, the like ceremony, in which, in order for the concluding of a treaty, the two contracting parties pass between the parts of the victim divided. Jer. xxxiv. 18.

and represented a battle. The two bodies of men were commanded by the two young princes. However, this was not a mere mock battle; all the men exerting themselves with their blunted weapons, with as much ardour as if they had been disputing for the throne. Several were wounded on both sides; and nothing but swords were wanting to make it a real battle. The body commanded by Demetrius had very much the superiority. This advantage gave great umbrage to Perseus. His friends, on the contrary, rejoiced at it, judging that this would be a very favourable and natural opportunity for him to form an accusation against his brother.

The two princes, on that day, gave a grand entertainment to the soldiers of their respective parties. Perseus, whom his brother had invited to his banquet, refused to come. The joy was very great on both sides, and the guests drank in proportion. During the entertainment, much discourse passed about the battle; and the guests intermixed their speeches with jests and raillery (some of which were very sharp) against those of the contrary party, without sparing even the leaders. Perseus had sent a spy to observe all that should be said at his brother's banquet; but four young persons, who came by accident out of the hall, having discovered this spy, gave him very rough treatment. Demetrius, who had not heard of what had happened, said to the company: "Let us go and conclude our feast at my "brother's, to soften his pain (if he has any remain-"ing) by an agreeable surprise, which will show that "we act with frankness and sincerity; and do not "harbour any malice against him." Immediately all cried that they would go, those excepted who were afraid that their ill treatment of the spy would be revenged. But Demetrius forcing them thither also, they concealed swords under their robes, in order to defend themselves in case there should be occasion. When discord reigns in families, it is impossible for any thing to be kept secret in them. A man, run-

ning hastily before, went to Perseus, and told him that Demetrius was coming, and had four men well armed in his train. He might easily have guessed the cause of it, as he knew that they were the persons who had ill treated the spy. Nevertheless, to make this action still more criminal, Perseus orders the doors to be locked; and then, from the window of an upper apartment which looked into the street, cried aloud to his servants not to open the door to wretches who were come with arms in their hands to assassinate them. Demetrius, who was a little warm with wine, after having complained, in a loud and angry tone of voice, at being refused admittance, returned back, and again sat down to table, still ignorant of the affair relating to Perseus's spy.

The next day, as soon as Perseus could get an opportunity to approach his father, he entered his apartment with a very dejected air; and continued some time in his presence, but at a little distance, without opening his mouth. Philip, being greatly surprised at his silence, asked what could be the cause of the concern which appeared in his countenance? "It is," answers Perseus, "by the merest "good fortune in the world that you see me here "alive. My brother now no longer lays secret "snares for me: he came in the night to my house, "at the head of a body of armed men, purposely to "assassinate me. I had no other way left to se- "cure myself from his fury, but by shutting my "doors, and keeping the wall between him and "me." Perseus, perceiving by his father's countenance, that he was struck with astonishment and dread: "If you will condescend," says he, "to "listen a moment to me, you shall be fully ac- "quainted with the whole state of the affair." Philip answered, that he would willingly hear him; and immediately ordered Demetrius to be sent for. At the same time he sent for Lysimachus and Onomastes, to ask their advice on this occasion. These two men, who were his intimate friends, were far

advanced in years. They had not concerned themselves with the quarrel of the two princes, and appeared very seldom at court. Philip, whilst he waited for their coming, walked several times up and down his apartment alone, revolving in his mind a variety of thoughts; his son Perseus standing all the time at a distance. When word was brought Philip that his two venerable friends were come, he withdrew to an inner apartment with them, and as many of his life-guards; and permitted each of his sons to bring three persons, unarmed, along with him; and having taken his seat, he spoke to them as follows:

"Behold in me an unhappy father, forced to sit "as judge between my two sons, one the accuser, and "the other accused of fratricide; reduced to the sad "necessity of finding, in one of them, either a cri- "minal or a false accuser. For a long time, indeed, "from certain expressions which I have overheard, "and from your behaviour towards each other, (a "behaviour no way suiting brothers,) I have been "afraid this storm would break over my head. And "yet I hoped, from time to time, that your discon- "tents and disgusts would soften, and your sus- "picions vanish away. I recollected, that contend- "ing kings and princes, laying down their arms, had "frequently contracted alliances and friendships; "and that private men had suppressed their animo- "sities. I flattered myself, that you would one day "remember the endearing name of brethren, by which "you are united; those happy years of infancy which "you spent in simplicity and union; in fine, the "counsels of a father so often repeated; counsels, "which, alas! I am afraid have been given to child- "ren deaf and indocile to my voice. How many "times, after setting before you examples of discord "between brothers, have I represented its fatal con- "sequences, by showing you that they had thereby "involved themselves in inevitable ruin; and not

" only themselves, but their children, families, and " kingdoms? On the other side, I proposed good " examples for your imitation: the strict union be- " tween the two kings of Lacedæmonia, so advanta- " geous during several centuries to themselves and " their country; whereas division and private inter- " est changed the monarchic government into ty- " ranny, and proved the destruction of Sparta. By " what other method, than by fraternal concord, did " the two brothers, Eumenes and Attalus, from such " weak beginnings as almost reflected dishonour on " the regal dignity, rise to a pitch of power equal to " mine, to that of Antiochus, and of all the kings we " know? I even did not scruple to cite examples " from the Romans, of which I myself had either " been an eye-witness, or heard from others: as the " two brothers, Titus and Lucius Quintius, who both " were engaged in war with me: the two Scipios, " Publius and Lucius, who defeated and subjected " Antiochus: their father and their uncle, who hav- " ing been inseparable during their lives, were undi- " vided in death. Neither the crimes of the one, " though attended with such fatal consequences; nor " the virtues of the other, though crowned with such " happy success, have been able to make you abhor " division and discord, or to inspire you with gentle " and pacific sentiments. Both of you, even in my " life-time, have turned your eyes and guilty desires " upon my throne. You suffer me to live, just so " long as that, surviving one of you, I secure my " crown to the other by my death. The fond names " of father and brother are insupportable to both. " Your souls are strangers to tenderness and duty. " A restless desire of reigning has banished all other " sentiments from your breasts, and entirely engrosses " you. But come, let me hear what each of you have " to say. Pollute the ears of your parent with your " accusations, whether real or feigned. Open your " criminal mouths; mutually vent your slanders, and

" afterwards arm your parricidal hands one against " the other. I am ready to hear all you have to say, " firmly determined to shut my ears eternally from " henceforth against the secret whispers and accusa- " tions of brother against brother." Philip having spoken these last words with great emotion and an angry tone of voice, all who were present wept, and continued a long time in a mournful silence.

At last, Perseus spoke as follows: " I perceive " plainly, that I ought to have opened my door in " the dead of night; to have admitted the assassins " into my house, and presented my throat to their " murderous swords, since guilt is not believed till " it has been perpetrated; and since I, who was so " inhumanly attacked, receive the same injurious re- " proaches as the aggressor. People have but too " much reason to say, that you consider Demetrius " alone as your true son; whilst I am looked upon " as a stranger, sprung from a concubine, or even a " supposititious child. For, did your breast glow with " the tenderness which a father ought to have for his " child, you would not think it just to inveigh so bit- " terly against me (for whose life so many snares " have been laid), but against him who contrived " them; and you would not think my life of so little " consequence, as to be entirely unmoved at the " imminent danger I have escaped, and at that to " which I shall be exposed, should the guilt of my " enemies be suffered to go unpunished. If I must " die without being suffered to complain, be it so; " let me be silent, and be contented with beseeching " the gods, that the crime which was begun in my " person, may end in it, and not extend to you. But " if I may be allowed to do with regard to you on " the present occasion, what nature suggests to those " who, seeing themselves attacked unawares in a de- " sert, implore the assistance even of those whom " they had never seen; if when I see swords drawn " against me, I may be permitted to utter a plaintive

" and supplicating voice; I conjure you by the ten-
" der name of father (for which whether my brother
" or I have had the greatest reverence, you yourself
" have long known), to listen to me at this time, as
" you would, if, awaked suddenly from your sleep by
" the tumult of what passed last night, chance had
" brought you, at the instant of my danger, and in
" the midst of my complaints; and you had found
" Demetrius at my door, attended by persons in
" arms. What I should have told you yesterday, in
" the greatest emotion and petrified with fear, I say
" to you to-day.

" Brother, for a long time we have not lived toge-
" ther like persons desirous of sharing in parties of
" pleasure. Your predominant wish is to reign; but
" you find an invincible obstacle in my age, the law
" of nations, the ancient customs of Macedonia; and,
" a still stronger circumstance, in my father's will
" and pleasure. It will be impossible for you ever
" to force these barriers, and to ascend the throne,
" but by imbruing your hands in my blood. To
" compass your horrid ends, you leave nothing un-
" tried, and set every engine at work. Hitherto,
" either my vigilance, or my good fortune, has pre-
" served me from your murderous hands. Yester-
" day, at the review, and the ceremony of the tourna-
" ment which followed it, the battle, by your con-
" trivance, became almost bloody and fatal; and I
" escaped death only by suffering myself and my fol-
" lowers to be defeated. From this fight, which was
" really a combat between enemies, you insidiously
" wanted (as if what had passed had been only the
" diversion of brothers) to allure me to your feast.
" Can you suppose (father) that I should have met
" with unarmed guests there, since those very guests
" came to my palace completely armed, at so late an
" hour? Can you imagine that I should have had
" nothing to fear, in the gloom of night, from their
" swords, when in open day, and before your eyes,

" they had almost killed me with their wooden wea-
" pons? What! you, who are my professed enemy;
" you, who are conscious that I have so much reason
" to complain of your conduct; you (I say) come to
" me in the night, at an unseasonable hour, and at
" the head of a company of armed young men? I did
" not think it safe for me to go to your entertainment;
" and should I receive you in my house at a time
" when, heated with the fumes of wine, you came so
" well attended? Had I then opened my door (fa-
" ther) you would be preparing to solemnize my fu-
" neral at this very instant in which you vouchsafe
" to hear my complaints. I do not advance any
" thing dubious, nor speak barely from conjecture.
" For can Demetrius deny that he came to my house,
" attended by a band of young people, and that some
" of them were armed? I only desire to have those
" whom I shall name sent for. I believe them ca-
" pable of any thing; but yet they will not have the
" assurance to deny this fact. Had I brought them
" before you, after seizing them armed in my house,
" you would be fully convinced of their guilt: and
" surely their own confession ought to be no less
" proof of it.

" You call down imprecations and curses upon
" impious sons who aspire to your throne: this (my
" father) you have great reason to do; but then
" vent not your imprecations blindly, and at random.
" Distinguish between the innocent and the guilty.
" Let him who meditated to murder his brother, feel
" the anger of the gods, the just avengers of paternal
" authority; but then let him, who by his brother's
" guilt was brought to the brink of destruction, find
" a secure asylum in his father's tenderness and jus-
" tice. For where else can I expect to find one? I,
" to whom neither the ceremony of the review, the
" solemnity of the tournament, my own house, the
" festival, nor the hours of night allotted by the gods
" to man for repose, could afford the least security?

" If I go to the entertainment to which my brother " invites me, I am a dead man; and it will be equally " fatal to me, if I admit him into my house when " he comes thither at midnight. Snares are laid for " me wherever I tread. Death lies in ambush for " me wherever I move;—to what place then can I " fly for security?

" I have devoted myself only to the gods, and to " you, my father. I never made my court to the " Romans, and cannot have recourse to them. They " wish my ruin, because I am so much affected with " their injustice to you; because I am tortured to " the soul, and fired with indignation, to see you " dispossessed of so many cities and nations; and, " lately, of the maritime coast of Thrace. They " cannot flatter themselves with the hopes of making " themselves masters of Macedonia as long as you " or I are in being. They are sensible, that, should " I die by my brother's guilt, or age bring you to " the grave, or the due course of nature be antici- " pated; then the king and kingdom will be at their " disposal.

" Had the Romans left you some city or territory, " not in the kingdom of Macedon, I possibly might " have had some opportunity of retiring to it. But, " it may be said, I shall find a sufficiently powerful " protection in the Macedonians. You yourself, " father, saw yesterday, with what animosity the " soldiers attacked me in the battle. What was " wanting for my destruction but swords of steel? " However, the arms they then wanted, my bro- " ther's guests assumed in the night. Why should " I mention a great part of the principal persons " of your court, who ground all their hopes on the " Romans, and on him who is all-powerful with " them? They are not ashamed to prefer him not " only to me, who am his elder brother, but, I " might almost say it, to you, who are our king and " father. For they pretend that it is to him you are

"obliged for the senate's remitting you some of "those things which they otherwise would have re- "quired: it is he who now checks the Romans, "and prevents their advancing in a hostile manner "into your kingdom. In fine, if they may be "believed, your old age has no other refuge but the "protection which your young son procures you.— "On his side are the Romans, and all the cities which "have been dismembered from your dominions, as "well as all such Macedonians whose dependence, "with regard to fortune, is placed wholly on the "Romans. But with respect to myself, I look upon "it as glorious, to have no other protector than you, "my father, and to place all my hopes in you "alone.

"What do you judge to be the aim and design of "the letter you lately received from Quintius, in "which he declares expressly, that you acted pru- "dently for your interest, in sending Demetrius to "Rome; and wherein he exhorts you to send him "back thither, accompanied by other ambassadors, "and a greater train of Macedonian noblemen? "Quintius is now every thing with Demetrius. He "has no other guide but his counsels, or rather his "orders. Quite forgetting that you are his father, "he seems to have substituted him in your place.— "It is in the city of Rome, and in his sight, that he "formed the secret and clandestine designs which "will soon break out into action. It is merely to "ensure their success, that Quintius orders you to "send along with Demetrius a greater number of the "Macedonian nobility. They set out from this coun- "try with the most sincere attachment to your per- "son and interest; but, won by the caresses which are "lavished upon them in that city, they return from it "corrupted and debauched by directly opposite sen- "timents. Demetrius is all in all with them: they "already presume, in your life-time, to give him the "title of king.—If I am indignant at this conduct, I

" have the grief to see not only others, but yourself " (my father), charge me with the design of aspir- " ing to your throne. Should this accusation be " levelled at us both, I am conscious of my own in- " nocence, and it cannot in any manner affect me. " For whom, in that case, should I dispossess, to seize " upon what would be another's right: there is no " one but my father between me and the throne; and " I beseech the gods that he may long continue so. " In case I should happen to survive him (and this I " would not wish any longer than he shall think me " worthy of it), I shall succeed him in the kingdom, if " it be his good pleasure. He may be accused of as- " piring to the throne, and of aspiring in the most un- " just and criminal manner, who is impatient to break " the order and overleap the bounds prescribed by " age, by nature, by the usages and customs of Ma- " cedonia, and by the law of nations. My elder " brother, says Demetrius to himself, to whom the " kingdom belongs both by the right of seniority " and my father's will, is an obstacle to my ambi- " tious views. I must dispatch him.—I shall not be " the first who has waded through a brother's blood " to the throne.—My father in years, and without " support, will be too much afraid for his own life to " meditate revenge for his son's death. The Romans " will be pleased to see me on the throne; they will " approve my conduct, and be able to support me. " I own (my father) these projects may all be de- " feated, but I am sure they are not without founda- " tion. In a word, I reduce all to this: It is in your " power to secure my life, by bringing to condign " punishment those who yesterday armed themselves " to assassinate me: but, should their villainy take " effect, it will not be in your power to revenge my " death."

As soon as Perseus had ended his speech, all the company cast their eyes on Demetrius, to intimate that it was incumbent on him to answer immedi-

ately. But as he, quite oppressed with sorrow and overwhelmed in tears, seemed unable to speak, a long silence ensued. At last, being pressed to answer, he made his grief give way to necessity, and spoke as follows:

"Perseus, by accusing me in your presence, my "father, and by shedding fictitious tears to move "you to compassion, has made you suspect mine, "which alas! are but too sincere; and by that "means has deprived me of all the advantages the accused generally have. Although ever since my "return from Rome he has been day and night laying "snares for me, in secret cabals with his creatures; "yet he now represents me to you, not only as laying "hidden ambuscades to destroy him, but attacking "him by open violence and an armed force. He "endeavours to alarm you by the pretended dangers which surround him, in hopes of hastening by "your means the death of his innocent brother. "He declares that he has no refuge, no asylum left, "with design to prevent my finding one in your clemency and justice. In the solitary and abandoned "state to which I see myself reduced, quite friendless and unprotected, he strives to make me odious, "by reproaching me with possessing an influence and "interest with foreigners, which are rather a prejudice than a service to me.

"Observe, I beseech you, with what insidious "art he has blended and confounded the transactions of last night with every other circumstance "of my life: and this in a double view; first to "raise a suspicion in you of my conduct in general "from this last action, the innocence of which "will soon be evident; and secondly, to support, "by this idle story of a nocturnal attack, his "equally idle accusation, of my harbouring criminal "views, hopes, and pretensions. At the same time "he has endeavoured to show that this accusation "was not premeditated or prepared; but that it was "wholly the effect of the fear with which he was

"seized, occasioned by last night's tumult. But, "Perseus, if I had attempted to betray my father "and his kingdom; had I engaged in conspiracies "with the Romans, and with the enemies of the "state; you ought not to have waited for the oppor- "tunity of the fictitious story of last night's trans- "actions, but should have impeached me before this "time of such treason. If the charge of treason, "when separated from the other, was altogether im- "probable, and could serve no other purpose but "to prove how much you envy me, and not to evince "my guilt; you ought not to have mentioned it "now, but should have postponed that charge to "another time; and have examined now this ques- "tion only, Whether you laid snares for me, or I for "you. I nevertheless will endeavour, as far as the "confusion into which this sudden and unforeseen "accusation has thrown me will permit, to separate "and distinguish what you have thrown together in- "discriminately; and to show whether you or myself "ought in justice to be accused of laying a snare for "the other last night.

"Perseus asserts, that I harboured a design to "assassinate him, in order that, by the death of my "elder brother, to whom the crown appertains by "the right of nations, by the customs of Mace- "donia, and even, as he pretends, by your deter- "mination; I, though the younger son, might suc- "ceed to the throne. To what purpose therefore "is that other part of his speech, where he declares, "that I have been particularly studious to ingratiate "myself with the Romans, and flattered myself with "the hopes of being able to ascend the throne by "their assistance? For, if I thought the Romans "were powerful enough to bestow the kingdom of "Macedon on whomsoever they pleased, and if I "relied so much on my influence and authority with "them, why should I commit a fratricide of no "advantage to myself? What! should I have af- 'fected to surround my temples with a diadem,

"dyed with my brother's blood, merely that I "might become odious and execrable, even to those "with whom I had acquired some influence (if "indeed I have any), by a probity either real or dis- "sembled? Unless you can suppose that Quintius, "whose counsel I am accused of following (he, I say, "who lives in so delightful an union with his brother), "suggested to me the horrid design of imbruing "my hands in my brother's blood. Perseus has sum- "moned up all the advantages, by which (as he would "insinuate) I can promise myself a superiority over "him: such as the credit of the Romans, the suffrages "of the Macedonians, and the almost universal con- "sent of gods and men; and yet he at the same time "(as if I were inferior to him in all respects) charges "me with having recourse to an expedient which none "but the blackest villains could employ. Are you "willing to have us judged upon this principle and "rule, That whichsoever of us two was apprehensive "that the other would be judged more worthy of the "diadem, shall be declared to have formed the de- "sign of murdering his brother?

"But let us come to facts, and examine the order "and plan of the criminal enterprise with which I "am charged. Perseus pretends to have been at- "tacked in different manners, all which are, however, "included within the space of one day. I attempted, "as he says, to murder him in broad day-light, in "the battle which followed the sacred ceremony of "the review. I determined to poison him at an "entertainment to which I had invited him. In fine, "I resolved to attack him with open force in the "dead of night, attended by armed persons to a party "of pleasure at his house.

"You see, my father, the season I had chosen to "commit this fratricide; a tournament, a banquet, a "party of pleasure, and on how venerable and solemn "a day! a day on which the army is reviewed, on "which the resplendent arms of all the Macedonian "monarchs are carried in the front of the procession;

" on which it passes between the two parts of the
" sacred victim; and on which we have the honour
" to march on each side of you, at the head of the
" whole Macedonian people. What! though puri-
" fied by this august sacrifice, from all faults I might
" before have committed; having before my eyes the
" sacred victim through which we passed, was my
" mind intent upon fratricides, poisons, and daggers!
" Defiled in such a manner by crimes of the most
" horrid nature, by what ceremonies, by what vic-
" tims, would it have been possible for me to purify
" myself?

" It is evident that my brother, hurried on by a
" blind wish to calumniate and destroy me, in his
" endeavour to make every thing suspected, and a
" crime in me, betrays and contradicts himself. For
" (brother) had I formed the design of poisoning
" you at my table, what could be more ill-judged
" than to exasperate you, and to put you upon your
" guard by an obstinate battle, in which I should
" have discovered that I had designs of violence
" against you; and by that means, have pre-
" vented your coming to an entertainment to which
" I had invited you, and at which you accord-
" ingly refused to be present? But surely, after such
" a refusal, should I not have endeavoured to recon-
" cile myself to you; and, as I had resolved to take
" you off by poison, ought I not to have sought an-
" other opportunity for giving you the fatal draught?
" Could it be expected that I should abruptly fly off
" on the very same day to another scheme, and at-
" tempt to assassinate you, upon pretence of going
" to your house on a party of pleasure? Could I
" reasonably flatter myself with the hopes (taking it
" for granted that the fear of your being murdered
" had made you refuse to come to my entertainment),
" that the same fear would not induce you to refuse
" me admittance into your house?

" I presume, father, I may confess to you with-
" out blushing, that in a day of festivity and rejoicing,

" happening to be in company with young people of " my own age, I drank more plentifully than usual. " Enquire, I beseech you, how we spent our time " at the feast yesterday, how full of mirth we " were, how transported with thoughtless gaiety, " very much heightened by our, perhaps, too indis- " creet joy, for the victory we had gained in the " tournament. It is the sad condition of an unfore- " seen accusation; it is the danger in which I now " see myself involved, that have dispelled but too " easily the fumes of wine; otherwise, a calm assas- " sin, my eyes had still been closed in slumbers. " Had I formed a resolution to attack your house " with a view of murdering you, would it not have " been possible for me to abstain for one day from " immoderate drinking, and to keep my companions " from the like excess?

" But, that it may not be thought that I alone " act with frankness and simplicity, let us hear my " brother, who has no malice, and does not harbour " the least suspicion. All, says he, that I know, and " the only thing I have to complain of, is, that they " came armed to my house, upon pretence of engaging " in a party of pleasure. Should I ask you how you " came to know this, you will be forced to own, " either that my house was filled with spies sent by " you, or else that my attendants had taken up arms " in so open a manner that every one knew of it. " What does my brother do? That he may not seem " to have formerly watched all my motions, nor at " this time to ground his accusation merely on sup- " positions, he beseeches you to enquire of those " whom he shall name, whether it be not true that " they came armed to his house; in order that (as if " this were a doubtful circumstance) after this enquiry " into an incident which they themselves own and " confess, they may be considered as legally convicted. " But is this the question? Why do not you desire " an enquiry to be made whether they took up arms

" to assassinate you, and whether they did it with my " knowledge, and at my request? For this is what you " pretend; and not what they themselves own pub- " licly, and which is very manifest, that they took " up arms with no other view than to defend them- " selves. Whether they had or had not reason to " arm themselves, that they are to inform you. Do " not blend and confound my cause with theirs, for " they are quite distinct and separate. Only tell us " whether we intended to attack you openly or by " surprise. If openly, why did we not all take up " arms? Why were those only armed who had in- " sulted your spy? In case it was to have been by " surprise, in what manner would the attack have " been made? Would it have been at the end of " the feast in your house; and after I had left it with " my company, would the four men in question " have staid behind, to have fallen upon you when " asleep? How would it have been possible for " them to conceal themselves in your house, since " they were strangers in my service, and could not but " be very much suspected, having been seen but a few " hours before engaged in the quarrel? Again, sup- " posing they had found an opportunity to murder " you, in what manner could they have escaped? " Could four men armed, have been able to make " themselves masters of your house?

" Leave, then, this nocturnal fiction, and come to " what really pains you, and which you have so much " at heart. For what reason (methinks I hear my " brother say), for what reason (Demetrius) do the " people talk of making you king? Why do some per- " sons think you more worthy than I of succeeding our " father? Why do you make my hopes doubtful and " uncertain, which, were it not for you, would have been " established on the most solid foundation? Such are the " reflections which Perseus revolves in his mind, though " he does not express himself in this manner. It " is this that makes him my enemy and my accuser:

"It is this that fills the palace and every part of "the kingdom with suspicions and accusations. If "I ought not now, father, so much as to hope for "the sceptre, nor perhaps ever to think of contesting "it, as being the younger, and because it is your "will and pleasure that I should yield to my elder "brother; it does not follow that I ought to make "myself appear unworthy of it, either to* you (my "father) or to all the Macedonians; a circumstance "which nothing but my ill conduct could occasion. "I can, indeed, through moderation, resign it to "whom it belongs; but I cannot prevail with myself "to renounce my virtue and good name.

"You reproach me with the affection of the "Romans, and impute that to me for a crime which "ought to be my glory. I did not desire to be "sent to Rome, neither as a hostage at first, nor "afterwards as ambassador: this, father, you your-"self very well know. When you ordered me to go "thither, I obeyed your commands; and I believe "my conduct there and behaviour were such, as can-"not reflect the least dishonour either on yourself, "your crown, or the Macedonian nation. It is there-"fore yourself, father, who occasioned the friendship "I have contracted with the Romans. So long as "you shall be at peace with them, so long our friend-"ship will subsist: but at the first signal for war, "though I have been a hostage among them, and "exercised the functions of an ambassador in such "a manner as perhaps has not been disadvantageous "to my father; from that moment, I say, I shall "declare myself their enemy. I do not desire to "reap any benefit on the present occasion, from "the love which the Romans have for me; all I "entreat is, that it may not be of prejudice to me. "It was not begun in war, nor is it designed to sub-"sist in it. As a hostage and an ambassador,

* Instead of *indignus te, patre,* Gronovius reads, *indignus tibi, pater;* which seems to agree better with the context.

" peace was my only object: let that be neither con-
" sidered in me as a crime nor a merit.

" If I have violated, in any manner, the respect I
" owe to you, my father; if I have formed any cri-
" minal enterprise against my brother; let me be
" punished as I deserve: but if I am innocent, this I
" claim; that as I cannot be convicted of the least
" guilt, I may not fall a victim to envy. This is not
" the first time that my brother has charged me with
" harbouring horrid designs; but it is the first time
" he has attempted to do it openly, though without
" the least foundation. Was my father exasperated
" against me, it would be your duty, as the elder,
" kindly to intercede for your younger brother; to
" solicit his pardon, to entreat that some regard
" might be shown to his youth; and that a fault,
" which had been committed merely through inad-
" vertency, might be overlooked. My ruin comes
" from that very quarter, whence I might naturally
" have expected my safety.

" Almost half asleep, after the feast and party of
" pleasure, I am dragged hither on a sudden, to
" answer a charge of fratricide; and am forced to
" plead my own cause, unassisted by advocates, and
" unsupported by the advice or influence of a single
" person. Had I been to speak in favour of an-
" other, I should have taken time to prepare and
" compose my discourse; and yet, on such an occa-
" sion, my reputation only would have laid at stake,
" and I should have had nothing to do but to display
" my wit and eloquence;—at this instant, without
" knowing the cause for which I am ordered to ap-
" pear in this place, I hear an offended father com-
" manding me to make my defence, and a brother
" charging me with the most horrid crimes. Perseus
" has had all the time he could desire to prepare
" his accusation, whilst I did not so much as know
" what the business was, till the very instant the
" accusation was brought against me. In this rapid
" moment, ought I to be more attentive to my

"accuser than studious of my own apology? Sur-
"prised by a sudden and unforeseen accusation, I
"could scarce comprehend what was laid to my
"charge, so far from being able to know how to
"make my defence. What hope could I have left,
"did I not know that it is my father who is to judge!
"He may show a greater affection for my brother,
"as the elder; but he owes more compassion to me,
"as being the party accused: I myself conjure you
"to preserve my life for your own sake and mine;
"whereas Perseus insists upon your sacrificing me
"to his safety. What may you not naturally expect
"from him when you shall once have invested him
"with your authority, as he now demands your fa-
"vour at no less a price than my blood!"

Whilst Demetrius defended himself in this manner, his words were interrupted by deep sighs, and groans intermixed with tears. Philip, dismissing both of them for a moment, advised with his friends; and then ordering them to be called in again, he told them: "I will not pronounce sentence on this affair "from mere words and an hour's discussion, but "from the enquiry I shall make into your conduct, "from your behaviour in small as well as great "things, and from your words as well as actions." This judgment showed plainly enough, that although Demetrius had cleared himself with regard to the charge of endeavouring to take away his brother's life, Philip, however, suspected him, from his connections with the Romans. These were in a manner the first seeds of the war that were sown in Philip's life-time, and which were to ripen under Perseus his successor.

[c]The king, some time after, sent Philocles and Apelles as his ambassadors to Rome; not so much with the design of employing them in any negociation, as to gain information how the inhabitants of that city stood affected with regard to Demetrius; and

A. M. 3823. Ant. J. C. 181.

[c] Liv. l. xl. n. 20—24.

to enquire secretly into what he had said there (particularly to Quintius), respecting the succession to the throne. Philip imagined that these two men were not attached to any party; but they were Perseus's adherents, and had engaged in his conspiracy. Demetrius, who knew nothing of what was transacting, (his brother's accusation excepted,) had no hopes of ever being able to pacify his father; especially when he found that his brother had so ordered matters that he could not have the least access to him. All he therefore endeavoured was, to keep a watchful guard over his words and actions, in order to give no ground for suspicion and envy. He avoided speaking of the Romans, or holding the least correspondence with them, even by letter, knowing it was this that chiefly incensed the Macedonians against him. He ought to have taken these precautions sooner: but this young prince, who had no experience, and was frank and sincere, and judged of others from himself, imagined he had nothing to fear from a court, with whose intrigues and artifices he ought to have been better acquainted.

Philip, from a vulgar opinion which prevailed in Macedon, that from the top of mount Hæmus, the Black sea and the Adriatic, as well as the Danube and the Alps, might be discovered, had the curiosity to ascertain the truth of it himself; imagining that this prospect might be of some service to the design he meditated, of making Italy the seat of war. He only took Perseus with him, and sent Demetrius into Macedonia; appointing Didas, governor of Pæonia, and one of the king's chief officers, to escort him. This man was a creature of Perseus, who had taught him his lesson perfectly; and exhorted him, above all things, to insinuate himself as artfully as possible into the good graces of the young prince, in order to discover all his secrets.

Didas executed his commission but too well. He agreed to every thing that Demetrius said, lamented his ill fate, seemed to detest the injustice

and insincerity of his enemies, who represented him, on all occasions, in the most odious light to his father; and offered to serve him to the utmost, in whatever lay in his power. Demetrius at last resolved to fly to the Romans. He fancied that heaven had opened him a certain means (for it was necessary to pass through Pæonia, of which Didas, as I observed above, was governor), and accordingly he revealed his design to him. Didas, without loss of time, sent advice of this to Perseus, and the latter to king Philip; who, after having undergone inexpressible fatigues in his journey up mount Hæmus, was returned from his expedition with no better informations than he carried with him. The monarch and his attendants did not, however, refute the vulgar opinion; in all probability, that they might not expose so ridiculous a journey to the laughter of the public; rather than because they had seen from one and the same spot, rivers, seas, and mountains, at so vast a distance from one another. Be this as it may, the king was at that time employed in the siege of a city called Petra, when the news I have mentioned was brought him. Herodotus, Demetrius's bosom-friend, was seized, and strict orders were given to keep a watchful eye over the prince.

Philip, at his return to Macedon, was seized with a deep melancholy. This last attempt of Demetrius went to his heart. He thought, however, that it would be proper for him to wait the return of the ambassadors whom he had sent to Rome, and who had been taught their lesson before they left Macedon. They reported exactly whatever had been dictated to them; and presented the king with a forged letter, sealed with the counterfeit seal of T. Quintius, in which he desired Philip, "not to be "offended at his son Demetrius, for some unguarded "expressions which might have escaped him with "respect to the succession to the crown; assuring "him that he would not engage in any attempt "contrary to the ties of blood and nature." He

concluded with observing, "that he was very far "from ever giving him such counsel." This letter confirmed all that Perseus had advanced against his brother. Herodotus was put to the torture, and died on the rack, without charging his master with any thing.

Perseus again accused his brother before the king. His having projected the design of flying to the Romans through Pæonia, and of bribing certain persons to accompany him in his flight, was imputed to him as a crime. But the circumstance which bore hardest against him was, the forged letter of Quintius. His father nevertheless did not declare himself publicly against him, resolving to make away with him secretly; not out of regard to his son, but lest the noise which the bringing him to execution would make, should discover too visibly the designs he projected against Rome. At his leaving Thessalonica to go to Demetrias, he commanded Didas to dispatch the young prince. The latter having carried Demetrius with him into Pæonia, poisoned him at an entertainment that was made after a sacrifice. Demetrius had no sooner drunk the deadly draught, than he found himself seized with violent pains. He withdrew to his apartment, complaining bitterly of his father's cruelty, and loudly charging his brother with the crime of fratricide, and Didas with his barbarous treachery. His pains increasing, two of Didas's domestics entered the room, threw blankets over his head, and stifled him. Such was the end of this young prince, who deserved a much better fate.

A. M. 3825. Ant. J. C. 179. [d] Almost two years were elapsed before the conspiracy of Perseus against his brother was discovered. In the mean time Philip, tortured by grief and remorse, incessantly deplored his son's murder, and reproached himself with his cruelty. His surviving son, who looked upon himself already as king, and

[d] Liv. l. xl. n. 54—57.

to whom the courtiers began to attach themselves, from the expectation that he would soon be their sovereign, gave him no less pain. It was infinitely shocking to him to see his old age despised; some waiting with the utmost impatience for his death, and others even not waiting for it.

Among those who had access to him, Antigonus held the first rank. He was nephew of another *Antigonus, who had been Philip's guardian; and under that name, and in that quality, had reigned ten years. This worthy man had always continued inviolably attached, both from duty and affection, to the person of his prince, in the midst of the tumults and cabals of the court. Perseus had never cared for him; but this inviolable attachment to his father had made him his professed enemy. Antigonus plainly perceived the danger to which he would be exposed when that prince should succeed to the crown. Finding that Philip began to fluctuate in thought, and would, from time to time, sigh and weep for his son Demetrius, he thought it proper to take advantage of that disposition; and sometimes listening to his discourse on that subject, at other times beginning it himself, and regretting the precipitate manner in which that affair had been conducted, he entered into his sentiments and complaints, and thereby gave them new force. And as truth always leaves some footsteps by which it may be discerned, he used his utmost endeavours to trace out the secret intrigues of Perseus's conspiracy.

The persons who had had the greatest concern in that affair, and of whom the strongest suspicion might with the greatest justice be entertained, were Apelles and Philocles, who had been sent ambassadors to Rome, and had brought from thence, as in the name of Quintius Flamininus, the letter which had proved so fatal to the young prince. It was generally whispered at court that this whole letter was forged:

* He was surnamed *Doson*.

but still this was only conjecture, and there was no proof of it. Very luckily, Xychus, who had accompanied Apelles and Philocles in quality of secretary of the embassy, happened upon some occasion to apply to Antigonus. Immediately he put him under an arrest, caused him to be carried to the palace, and leaving him under a strong guard, went to Philip. "I imagined (says he), royal sir, from several things I "have heard you say, that nothing could give you "greater pleasure than to know exactly what idea "you ought to entertain of your two sons; and to "ascertain which of them it was that made an at- "tempt on the other's life. You now have in your "power the man who is best able to give you a per- "fect account of that whole affair, and this is Xychus. "He is now in your palace, and you may command "him to be sent for." Xychus being immediately brought in, at first denied every thing; but so very faintly, that it was evident he would make a full discovery, upon being ever so little intimidated. Accordingly, the instant that the officer of justice appeared, he made a full confession, revealed the whole intrigue of the ambassadors, and the share he himself had in it. Immediately Philocles, who happened to be in court at that time, was seized; but Apelles, who was absent, hearing that Xychus had made a full discovery, fled to Italy. History does not inform us of the particulars which were extorted from Philocles. Some pretend, that after having resolutely denied the charge at first, he was utterly confounded upon his being confronted with Xychus. According to other historians, he bore the torture with the utmost fortitude, and asserted his innocence to the last gasp. All these things only revived and augmented the sorrow of Philip; a father equally wretched, whether he turned his reflections on his murthered son, or on him who was still living.

Perseus, being informed that his whole plot had been discovered, knew too well his own power and

influence to believe it necessary to secure himself by flight. The only precaution he took was, a resolution to keep at a distance from court as long as his father should live, in order to withdraw himself from his resentment.

Philip did not entertain the hope of having it in his power to seize Perseus, and bring him to condign punishment. The only thought he then entertained was, to prevent his enjoying, with impunity, the fruits of his guilt. In this view he sent for Antigonus, to whose great care he owed the discovery of the conspiracy; and whom he judged very well qualified, both on account of his personal merit and of his uncle Antigonus's recent fame and glory, to fill the Macedonian throne. "Reduced," says Philip, "to the "deplorable necessity of wishing that to be my fate, "which other fathers detest as the most dreadful ca- "lamity that can befall them (the being childless); I "am now resolving to bequeath to you a kingdom, "for which I am indebted to the guardianship "of your uncle; and which he not only preserved "by his fidelity, but enlarged considerably by his va- "lour. I know no man worthy of the crown but "yourself. And were there none capable of wearing "it with dignity, I had infinitely rather it should be "lost for ever, than that Perseus should have it as "the reward of his impious perfidy. Methinks I "shall see Demetrius risen from the sepulchre, and "restored to his father, if I can substitute you in his "place; you, who alone bewailed the untimely death "of my dear son, and the unhappy credulity which "proved his destruction."

After this he bestowed the highest honours on Antigonus, and took every opportunity of producing him in the most advantageous light to the public. Whilst Perseus resided in Thrace, Philip made a progress through several cities of Macedon, and recommended Antigonus to all the noblemen of the greatest distinction, with the utmost zeal and affection; and, had fate allowed him a longer life, it was not doubted but he

would have put him in possession of the throne. Having left Demetrias, he made a considerable stay in Thessalonica, from whence he went to Amphipolis, where he fell dangerously ill. The physicians declared, that his sickness proceeded more from his mind than his body. Grief kept him continually awake; and he frequently imagined he saw, in the dead of night, the ghost of the ill-fated Demetrius, reproaching him with his death, and calling down curses on his head. He expired, bewailing one of his sons with a shower of tears, and venting imprecations against the other. Antigonus might have been raised to the throne, had the king's death been immediately divulged. Calligenes the physician, who presided in all the consultations, did not stay till the king had breathed his last; but the very instant he saw that it was impossible for him to recover, he dispatched couriers to Perseus; it having been agreed between them that he should keep some in readiness for that purpose; and he concealed the king's death from every body out of the palace, till Perseus appeared, whose sudden arrival surprised all people. He then took possession of the crown, which he had acquired by guilt.

He reigned eleven years; the last four of which were employed in war against the Romans, for which he had made preparations from the time of his accession to the throne. At last, Paulus Æmilius gained a famous victory over him, which put an end to the kingdom of Macedon. To prevent my being obliged to divide and interrupt the series of Perseus's history, which has scarce any connection with that of the other kings, I shall defer it to the following Book, where it shall be related at large, and without interruption.

SECT. II. *The death of Seleucus Philopator, whose reign was short and obscure. He is succeeded by his brother Antiochus, surnamed Epiphanes. Causes of the war which afterwards broke out between the kings of Egypt and Syria. Antiochus gains a victory over Ptolemy. The conqueror possesses himself of Egypt, and takes the king prisoner. A report prevailing of a general revolt, he goes into Palestine; besieges and takes Jerusalem, where he exercises the most horrid cruelties. The Alexandrians, in the room of Philometor, who was Antiochus's prisoner, raise to the throne his younger brother Ptolemy Euergetes, surnamed also Physcon. Antiochus renews the war with Egypt. The two brothers are reconciled. He marches towards Alexandria, in order to lay siege to it. Popilius, one of the Roman ambassadors, obliges him to quit Egypt, and not to molest the two brothers.*

SELEUCUS Philopator did not reign long in Asia, nor did he perform any memorable action. Under him happened the famous incident concerning Heliodorus, related in the second book of [a] Maccabees. The holy city of Jerusalem enjoyed at that time profound tranquillity. The piety and resolution of Onias, the high-priest, caused the laws of GOD to be strictly observed there; and prompted even kings and idolatrous princes to have the holy place in the highest veneration. They honoured it with rich gifts; and king Seleucus furnished, from his own private revenues, all that was necessary for the solemnization of the sacrifices. Nevertheless, the perfidy of a Jew called Simon, governor of the temple, raised on a sudden a great disorder in the city. This man, to revenge himself of the opposition which

[a] 2 Maccab. iii.

Onias the high-priest made to his unjust enterprises, informed the king that there were immense treasures in the temple, which were not designed for the expences of the sacrifices, and that he might seize upon them all. The king, on this information, sent Heliodorus his first minister to Jerusalem, with orders to carry off all those treasures.

Heliodorus, after having been received by the high-priest with honours of every kind, told him the motive of his journey; and asked him whether the information that had been given to the king, with regard to the treasure, was true. The high-priest told him, that these treasures were only deposited there as in trust, and were allotted to the maintenance of widows and orphans; that he could not absolutely dispose of them to the prejudice of those to whom they belonged; and who imagined that they could not secure them better, than by depositing them in a temple, the holiness of which was revered throughout the whole universe. This treasure consisted of four hundred talents of silver (about fifty thousand pounds sterling) and two hundred talents of gold (three hundred thousand pounds sterling). However, the minister sent from the prince, insisting on the orders he had received from court, told him plainly, that this money, whatever might be the consequence, must all be carried to the king.

The day appointed for the carrying it off being come, Heliodorus came to the temple, with the intention to execute his commission. Immediately the whole city was seized with the utmost terror. The priests, dressed in their sacerdotal vestments, fell prostrate at the foot of the altar; beseeching the GOD of heaven, who enacted the law with regard to deposits, to preserve those laid up in his temple. Great numbers flocked in crowds, and jointly besought the Creator, upon their knees, not to suffer so holy a place to be profaned. The women and maidens, covered with sackcloth, were seen lifting up their hands to heaven. It was a spectacle truly

worthy of compassion, to see such multitudes, and especially the high-priest, pierced with the deepest affliction, under the apprehension of so impious a sacrilege.

By this time, Heliodorus, with his guards, was come to the gate of the treasury, and preparing to break it open. But the *Spirit of the Almighty now revealed himself by the most sensible marks; insomuch that all those who had dared to obey Heliodorus, were struck down by a divine power, and seized with a terror which bereaved them of all their faculties. For there appeared to them a horse richly caparisoned, which rushing at once upon Heliodorus, struck him several times with his fore-feet. The man who sat on this horse had a terrible aspect, and his arms seemed of gold. At the same time there were seen two young men whose beauty dazzled the eye, and who, standing on each side of Heliodorus, scourged him incessantly, and in the most violent manner. Heliodorus, falling to the ground, was taken up, and put into his litter; and this man, who a moment before had come into the temple followed by a great train of guards, was forced away from this holy place, and had no one to succour him; and that, because the power of GOD had displayed itself in the strongest manner. By the same power he was cast to the ground speechless, and without the least sign of life; whilst the temple, which before resounded with nothing but lamentations, now echoed with the shouts of all the people, who returned thanks to the Almighty, for having raised the glory of his holy temple by the effect of his power.

But now, some of Heliodorus's friends besought the high-priest to invoke GOD in his favour. Immediately Onias offered a sacrifice for his health. Whilst he was praying, the two young men above-

*Sed Spiritus omnipotentis Dei magnam fecit suæ ostentationis evidentiam.

mentioned appeared to Heliodorus, and said to him: "Return thanks to Onias the high-priest; for it is "for his sake that the LORD has granted you life. "After having been chastened of God, declare unto "the whole world his miraculous power." Having spoken these words, they vanished.

Heliodorus offered up sacrifices and made solemn vows to Him who had restored him to life. He returned thanks to Onias, and went his way; declaring to every one the wonderful works of the Almighty, to which he himself had been an eye-witness. The king asking him, whether he believed that another person might be sent with safety to Jerusalem, he answered; "In case you have an enemy or "any traitorous wretch who has a design upon your "crown, send him thither; and you will see him "return back flayed with scourging, if indeed he re-"turn at all. For he who inhabiteth the heavens is "himself present in that place: he is the guardian "and protector of it; and he strikes those mortally "who go thither to injure it."

The king was soon punished for this sacrilegious act, by the very man whom he had commanded to plunder the temple. Antiochus the Great, having after his defeat at Sipylus concluded the ignominious peace with the Romans before-mentioned, had given them, among other hostages, Antiochus, one of his sons, and the younger brother of Seleucus, [f] He had resided thirteen years in Rome. Seleucus his brother wanted him, but for what reason is not known (perhaps to put him at the head of some military expedition which he might judge him capable of executing); and to obtain him, he sent Demetrius his only son, who was but twelve years of age, to Rome, as a hostage in Antiochus's room.

A. M. 3829. Ant. J. C. 175. During the absence of the two heirs to the crown, (one of whom was gone to Rome, and the other not

[f] Appian. in Syr. p. 116.

returned from it,) Heliodorus imagined he might, with very little difficulty, seize upon it, by taking off Seleucus; and accordingly he poisoned him.

In this manner was fulfilled the prophecy of Daniel. After speaking of the death of Antiochus the Great, he adds, [g] "Then shall stand up in his "estates a raiser of taxes in the glory of the king-"dom: but within few days* he shall be de-"stroyed, neither in anger nor in battle." These few words denote evidently the short and obscure reign of Seleucus, and the kind of death he was to die. The Hebrew text points him out still more clearly. "There shall arise up in his place," of Antiochus, "a man who, as an extortioner, a col-"lector of taxes, shall cause to pass away, (*shall* "*destroy*,) the glory of the kingdom." And, indeed, this was the sole employment of his reign. He was obliged to furnish the Romans, by the articles of the peace concluded between them, a thousand † talents annually; and the twelve years of this tribute end exactly with his life. He reigned but eleven years.

[h] Antiochus, afterwards surnamed Epiphanes, who was returning from Rome into Syria, heard at Athens of the death of his brother Seleucus. He was told that the usurper had a very strong party, but that another was forming in favour of Ptolemy, whose claim was founded in right of his mother, the late king's sister. Antiochus had recourse to Eumenes king of Pergamus, and to Attalus his brother, who seated him on the throne, after having expelled Heliodorus.

The prophet Daniel (from verse 21 of chapter xi. to the end of chapter xii.) foretells every thing that was to befall Antiochus Epiphanes, who was a cruel persecutor of the Jews, and who is pointed

[g] Dan. xi. 20. [h] Appian. in Syr. p. 116, 117. Hieron. in Dan.

* The Hebrew word may signify either *days* or *years*.

† About 150,000*l*.

out elsewhere by the [1] "little horn which was to issue "out of one of the four *large* horns." I shall explain this prophecy hereafter.

Here (chap. xi. verse 21) the prophet describes his accession to the throne. "And in his," (Seleucus's,) "estate shall stand up a vile person, to whom "they shall not give the honour of the kingdom: but "he shall come in peaceably, and obtain the kingdom "by flatteries." Antiochus's conduct will show how *vile* he was. It is said, "that to him they shall "not give the honours of the kingdom." He did not obtain the crown either by right of birth, as his brother Seleucus had left behind him a son who was his lawful heir, or by the free choice of the people; Eumenes and Attalus having set it on his head. Being returned from the west *peaceably* (or rather *secretly*) to surprise his rival, he won the hearts of the people by his artifices, and a specious appearance of clemency.

[k] He assumed the title of *Epiphanes*, that is *illustrious*, which title was never worse applied. The whole series of his life will show, that he deserved much more that of *Epimanes* (*mad* or *furious*) which some people gave him.

Some circumstances related of him, prove how justly the epithet *vile* is bestowed upon him in Scripture. He used frequently to go out of his palace, accompanied only by two or three domestics, and ramble up and down the streets of Antioch. He would spend his time in talking with goldsmiths and engravers in their shops, and in disputing with them on the most minute particulars relating to the arts they professed, and which he ridiculously boasted he understood as well as they. He would very often stoop so low as to converse with the dregs of the populace, and mix indiscriminately with them in the places where they were assembled. On these occasions he would sit and drink with foreigners of the

[1] Dan. viii. 9. [k] Athen. l. v. p. 193.

meanest condition in life. Whenever he heard of any party of pleasure between young people, he used to go (without saying a word to any person) and join in all their wanton fooleries; would carouse and sing with them, without observing the least moderation or decorum. He sometimes would take it into his head to divest himself of his royal habit, and put on a Roman robe; and in that garb would go from street to street, as he had seen the candidates at Rome do at an election for magistrates. He asked the citizens to favour him with their votes, by giving his hand to one, by embracing another, and sometimes would canvass for the office of ædile, and at other times for that of tribune. After having got himself elected, he would call for the Curule chair,* and, seating himself in it, would judge the petty suits relating to contracts of buying or selling, and pronounce sentence with as much seriousness and gravity as if he decided affairs of the utmost importance. We are likewise told that he was very much given to drinking; that he squandered away a great part of his revenues in excess and debauch; and that, when intoxicated with liquor, he would frequently scour up and down the city, throwing away handfuls of money among the populace, and crying, *Catch as catch can.* At other times, he would leave his palace (dressed in a Roman robe, with a crown of roses on his head), and walk without attendants about the street; on which occasions, if any person offered to follow him, he used to pelt them with stones, always carrying a great quantity under his robe, for that purpose. He often used to go and bathe himself in the public baths with the common people, where he committed such extravagancies, as made every body despise him. After what has been said (and I omit a great many other particulars), I submit to the reader's judgement, whether Antiochus did not merit the title of *madman*, rather than that of *illustrious.*

* This was an ivory chair, which was allowed in Rome to none but the chief magistrates.

A. M. 3830. Ant. J. C. 174. [l] Scarce was Antiochus well seated on the throne, when Jason, brother of Onias the Jewish high-priest, having formed a design to supplant his brother, offered that prince, secretly, three hundred and sixty talents (about ninety thousand pounds sterling), besides eighty more (about twelve thousand pounds) for another article, upon condition that he should appoint him high-priest. He succeeded in his negociation; and accordingly Onias, who was universally revered for his strict piety and justice, was deposed, and Jason established in his room. The latter subverted entirely the religion of his ancestors, and brought infinite calamities upon the Jewish nation, as appears from the Second Book of the Maccabees, and Josephus.

A. M. 3831. Ant. J. C. 173. [m] In Egypt, from the death of Ptolemy Epiphanes, Cleopatra his widow, sister of Antiochus Epiphanes, had assumed the regency, and the guardianship of her young son; and had acquitted herself with the greatest care and prudence. But she dying that year, the regency fell to Lenæus, a nobleman of great distinction in that country; and Eulæus the eunuch was appointed to superintend the king's education. These were no sooner in their employments, than they sent a deputation to demand Cœle-syria and Palestine of Antiochus Ephiphanes; a demand that very soon after occasioned a war between the two crowns. Cleopatra, who was mother of one of these kings and sister to the other, had prevented them as long as she lived from coming to a rupture. But the new regents did not show so much regard for Antiochus, nor scruple to demand of him what they believed their sovereign's right. [n] It is certain that the Egyptian monarchs had always possessed the sovereignty of these provinces from the time of the first Ptolemy, till Antiochus the Great wrested them from Ptolemy Epiphanes, and left them to Seleucus his son, with

[l] 2 Maccab. c. iv. [m] Hieron. in Dan.
[n] Polyb. in Legat. c. lxxii.—lxxxii.

no other right than that of conquest. They had descended from the latter to his brother Antiochus.

The Egyptians, to enforce their pretensions, declared, that in the last division of the empire between the four successors of Alexander, who remained masters of every thing after the battle of Ipsus, these provinces had been assigned to Ptolemy Soter: that himself, and his successors to the crown of Egypt, had enjoyed them from that time till the battle of Paneas, the gaining of which had enabled Antiochus the Great to dispossess Egypt of those provinces: that this prince had stipulated, when he gave his daughter to the king of Egypt, to restore to him at the same time those provinces as her dowry; and that this was the principal article of the marriage contract.

Antiochus denied both these facts; and pretended that, on the contrary, in the general division which had been made of Alexander's empire, all Syria (including Cœle-syria and Palestine) had been assigned to Seleucus Nicator; and that consequently they belonged to the prince in possession of the kingdom of Syria. With regard to the marriage contract, by virtue of which the Egyptians demanded back those provinces, he asserted that it was an absolute chimæra. In fine, after having given their reasons on both sides without coming to any conclusion, they found it necessary to decide their pretensions by force of arms.

[a] Ptolemy Philometor, having entered his fifteenth year, was declared of age. Great preparations were made in Alexandria for the solemnity of his coronation, according to the Egyptian custom. Antiochus sent Apollonius, one of the chief noblemen of his court, with the character of ambassador, to be present on that occasion, and to congratulate the young king in his name. This, in outward appearance, was to do honour to his nephew; but the real motive was,

[a] 1 Maccab. iv. 21, 22.

to discover, if possible, the designs of that court with respect to the provinces of Cœle-syria and Palestine, as well as what measures were taking with regard to them. The instant he heard, on the return of Apollonius, that all things were preparing for war, he went by sea to Joppa, visited the frontiers of the country, and put it into a condition of defending itself against all the attacks of the Egyptians.

In his progress, he passed through Jerusalem. Jason and the whole city received him there with the greatest pomp and magnificence. Notwithstanding the honours paid him in Jerusalem, he aftewards brought great calamities on that city and the whole Jewish nation. From Jerusalem he went to Phœnicia; and after having settled all things in every place through which he passed, he returned to Antioch.

[p] The same Apollonius who has been just mentioned, had been sent by Antiochus to Rome, at the head of an embassy. He made excuses to the senate for his master's having sent the tribute later than was stipulated by the treaty. Besides the sum due, he made a present to the people of several golden vases. He demanded, in that prince's name, that the alliance and friendship which had been granted his father should be renewed with him; and desired that the Romans would give him such orders as suited a king, who valued himself on being their affectionate and faithful ally. He added, that his sovereign could never forget the great favours he had received from the senate; from all the youths of Rome; and from persons of all ranks and conditions during his abode in that city, where he had been treated not merely as a hostage, but as a monarch. The senate made an obliging answer to these several particulars, and dismissed Apollonius with the highest marks of distinction, and laden with presents. It was well known, from the Roman ambassadors who had been in Syria,

[p] Liv. l. xlii. n. 6.

that he was very much esteemed by the king, and had the highest regard for the Romans.

[q] Jason, the year following, sent his brother Menelaus to Antioch, to pay the tribute to the king, and to negociate some affairs of importance. But that perfidious wretch, in the audience to which he was admitted, instead of confining himself to his commission, supplanted his brother, and obtained his office by offering three hundred talents more than he did. This new choice gave rise to tumults, disorders, murders, and sacrilegious acts: but the death of Onias, who was universally beloved and revered, crowned the whole. Antiochus, hard-hearted as he was, however, lamented his death, and brought the murderer to condign punishment. I make only a transient mention of these facts, and omit the principal circumstances of them, because they belong properly to the history of the Jews, which does not enter into my plan, and of which I relate only such particulars at large as are too important to be entirely omitted, or which cannot be abridged in such a manner as to preserve their beauty. A. M. 3832. Ant. J. C. 172.

[r] Antiochus, who from the return of Apollonius from the Egyptian court had been preparing for the war with which he saw himself threatened by Ptolemy, on account of Cœle-syria and Palestine, finding himself in a condition to begin it, resolved not to wait for it in his own dominions, but to carry his arms into the enemy's country. He imagined that, as Ptolemy was but sixteen, and was governed entirely by weak ministers, he should be able to bring him to what terms he pleased. He was persuaded that the Romans, under whose protection the Egyptians had put themselves, had so much upon their hands, that it would be impossible for them to give the latter the least succour; and that A. M. 3833. Ant. J. C. 171.

[q] 2 Maccab. iv. 23, &c.

[r] Liv. l. xlii. n. 9. Polyb. in Legat. c. lxxi. lxxii. Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 2. Diod. Legat. xviii. Hieron. in Daniel.

the war they were carrying on against Perseus, king of Macedon, would not allow them leisure for it. In a word, he thought the present juncture very favourable for him to decide his difference with the Egyptians on account of those provinces.

In the mean time, to observe measures with the Romans, he sent ambassadors to the senate to represent the right he had to the provinces of Cœle-syria and Palestine, of which he was actually possessed; and the necessity he was under of engaging in a war in order to support that right: immediately after which he put himself at the head of his army, and marched towards the frontiers of Egypt. Ptolemy's army came up with his near mount Casius and Pelusium; and a battle was fought, in which Antiochus was victorious. He made so good an use of his success, that he put the frontier in a condition to serve as a barrier, and to check the utmost efforts the Egyptians might make to recover those provinces. This was his first expedition into Egypt: after which, without engaging in any other enterprise that year, he returned to Tyre, and placed his army in winter-quarters in the neighbourhood of that city.

A. M. 3834. Ant. J. C. 170. [s] During his stay there, three persons, deputed from the sanhedrim of Jerusalem, came to complain of Menelaus, whom they proved in his presence to be guilty of impiety and sacrilege. The king was going to condemn him; but at the request of Ptolemy Macron, one of his ministers in the interest of Menelaus, he cleared him, and put to death the three deputies, as false witnesses: an action, says the author of the Maccabees, so very unjust, [t] "that "before the Scythians, they would have been judged "innocent." The Tyrians, touched with compassion at their unhappy fate, gave them honourable interment.

[s] 2 Maccab. iv. 44—50. [t] 2 Maccab. iv. 47.

[u] This Ptolemy Macron, having formerly been governor of the island of Cyprus, under king Ptolemy Philometor, had kept in his own hands, during the minority of that monarch, all the revenues of that country; and could never be prevailed on to deliver them up to the ministers, though they made the warmest remonstrances upon that head; but had constantly refused to pay any attention to them, in consequence of the well-founded suspicions he entertained of their fidelity. At the coronation of the king, he brought the whole treasure to Alexandria, and deposited it in the exchequer: a rare instance of a noble disregard of wealth, in a man who had the public finances at his disposal! So considerable a sum, and coming at a time when the government was in extreme want of money, had done him great honour, and gained him prodigious influence at court. But afterwards, exasperated at some *ill* treatment he met with from the ministers, or at his not having been rewarded as he wished for so important a service, he rebelled against Ptolemy, entered into Antiochus's service, and delivered up the island of Cyprus to him. That king received him with infinite satisfaction, took him into the number of his confidants, made him governor of Cœle-syria and Palestine, and sent to Cyprus, in his room, Crates, who had commanded in the castle at Jerusalem under Sostratus. Frequent mention is made of this Ptolemy Macron in the Books of the Maccabees.

[x] Antiochus spent the whole winter in making fresh preparations for a second expedition into Egypt; and, the instant the season would permit it, invaded that country both by sea and land. Ptolemy had raised a very considerable army, but it was unable to make head against Antiochus; for that monarch gained a second battle on the frontiers, took the city of Pe-

[u] Polyb. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 126. 2 Maccab. x. 13; viii. 8; iv. 29: and 1 Maccab. iii. 38.

[x] 2 Maccab. v. 1. 1 Maccab. i. 17—20. Hieron. in Dan. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 311.

lusium, and marched into the very heart of Egypt. In this last defeat of the Egyptians, it was in his power not to have suffered a single man to escape; but, the more completely to ruin his nephew, instead of making use of the advantage he had gained, he himself rode up and down on all sides, and obliged his soldiers to discontinue the slaughter. This clemency gained him the hearts of the Egyptians; and when he advanced into the country, all the inhabitants came in crowds to pay their submission to him; so that he soon took Memphis and all the rest of Egypt, except Alexandria, which alone held out against him.

Philometor was either taken, or else surrendered himself to Antiochus, who set him at full liberty. After this they had but one table; lived, seemingly, in great friendship; and, for some time, Antiochus affected to be extremely careful of the interests of the young king his nephew, and to regulate his affairs as his guardian. But when he had once possessed himself of the country, under that pretext he seized whatever he thought fit, plundered all places, and enriched himself, as well as his soldiers, with the spoils of the Egyptians.

[y] Philometor made a miserable figure all this time. In the field, he had always kept as far as possible from danger, and had not even shown himself to those who fought for him. And after the battle, in how abject a manner did he submit himself to Antiochus, by whom he suffered himself to be dispossessed of so fine a kingdom, without making any effort to preserve it! This, however, was not so much owing to want of courage and natural capacity, (for he afterwards gave proofs of both,) as the effects of his soft and effeminate education under Eulæus his governor. That eunuch, who also was his prime minister, had used his utmost endeavours to plunge him in luxury and effeminacy, in order to make him incapable of public business, and to make himself as necessary when the young prince came of

[y] Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 2. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 310.

age as he had been during his minority; and thereby retain all power in his own hands.

[z] Whilst Antiochus was in Egypt, a false report of his death spread throughout Palestine. Jason thought this a proper opportunity to recover the employment he had lost in that country. Accordingly, he marched with a few more than a thousand men to Jerusalem; and there, by the assistance of his partizans in the city made himself master of it; drove out Menelaus, who withdrew to the citadel, exercised every species of cruelty upon his fellow-citizens and put to death, without mercy, all those who fell into his hands, and whom he considered as his enemies.

When advice of this was brought Antiochus in Egypt, he concluded that the Jews had made a general insurrection, and therefore set forward immediately to quell it. The circumstance which chiefly exasperated him was, his being informed that the inhabitants of Jerusalem had made great rejoicings, when a false report had prevailed of his death. He therefore besieged the city; took it by storm; and, during the three days that it was abandoned to the fury of the soldiers, he caused fourscore thousand men to be inhumanly butchered. Forty thousand were also taken prisoners, and the like number sold to the neighbouring nations.

But not yet satisfied, this impious wretch entered forcibly into the temple, as far as the sanctuary and the most sacred places; even polluting, by his presence, the holy of holies, whither the traitor Menelaus led him. After this, adding sacrilege to profanation, he carried away the altar of incense, the table for the show-bread, the candlestick with seven branches belonging to the sanctuary (all these were of gold); with several other vases, utensils, and gifts of kings, also of gold. He plundered the city, and returned to Antioch laden with the spoils of Judea

[z] 1 Maccab. i. 20—29. 2 Maccab. v. 5—21. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 7. Diod. l. xxxiv. Eclog. 1. Hieron. in Dan.

and Egypt, which together amounted to immense* sums. To complete the calamity of the Jews, Antiochus, at his setting out, appointed, as governor over Judea, a Phrygian, Philip by name, a man of great cruelty. He nominated Andronicus, a man of the like barbarous disposition, governor of Samaria: and bestowed on Menelaus, the most wicked of the three, the title of high-priest, investing him with the authority annexed to the office.

[a] Such was the beginning of the calamities which had been foretold at Jerusalem by strange phœnomena in the skies, that had appeared there, some time before, during forty days successively. These were men, some on horseback and others on foot, armed with shields, lances, and swords, who, forming considerable bodies, combated in the air, like two hostile armies.

A. M. 3835. Ant. J. C. 169. [b] The Alexandrians, seeing Philometor in the hands of Antiochus, whom he suffered to govern his kingdom at discretion, considered him as lost to them, and therefore seated his younger brother upon the throne, which they first declared void. [c] On this occasion he had the name of Ptolemy *Euergetes* II. given him, which was soon changed to that of *Cacergetes;* the former signifying *beneficent*, and the latter, *evil-doer*. He afterwards was nicknamed † *Physcon*, or *tun-bellied*, because his gluttony had made him remarkably corpulent. [d] Most historians mention him under the latter epithet. Cineas and Cumanus were appointed his chief ministers, and were ordered to use their utmost endeavours to re-

[a] 2 Maccab. v. 2—4.
[b] Porphyr. in Græc. Euseb. Scalig.
[c] Athen. l. iv. p. 184. [d] Polyb. in Leg. c. lxxxi.

* We are told in the Maccabees, Book II. ch. i. v. 14, that he carried off from the temple alone, eighteen hundred talents, which are equivalent to about two hundred and seventy thousand pounds sterling.

† Φύσκων, *ventricosus, obesus*; from φύσκη, *crassum intestinum, venter.*

store, if possible, the affairs of the kingdom, now so dilapidated, to their former flourishing condition.

Antiochus, who had advice of what was transacting, took occasion thereupon to return a third time into Egypt, under the specious pretence of restoring the dethroned monarch; but, in reality, to make himself absolute master of the kingdom. He defeated the Alexandrians in a sea-fight near Pelusium, marched his forces into Egypt, and advanced directly towards Alexandria, in order to besiege it. The young king consulted his two ministers, who advised him to summon a grand council, composed of all the principal officers of the army, and to deliberate with them on the measures proper to be taken in the present exigency. After many debates, they came at last to this resolution: that, as their affairs were reduced to so low an ebb, it would be absolutely necessary for them to endeavour a reconciliation with Antiochus; and that the ambassadors of the several states of Greece, who were in Alexandria at that time, should be desired to employ their mediation; to which they readily consented.

They went by water up the river to Antiochus, with the overtures of peace, accompanied by two of Ptolemy's ambassadors, who had the same instructions He gave them a very gracious reception in his camp, regaled them that day in a very magnificent manner, and appointed the next day for them to make their proposals. The Achæans spoke first, and afterwards the rest in their turns. All were unanimous in their accusation of Eulæus; ascribing the calamities of the war to his mal-administration, and to the minority of Ptolemy Philometor. At the same time, they apologized in a very artful manner for the new king, and employed all the powers of their rhetoric to move Antiochus in his favour, in order to induce him to treat with him; laying great stress on their affinity.

Antiochus, in the answer he gave, agreed entirely

with them, as to the cause and origin of the war; took occasion from thence to expatiate on the right he had to Cœle-syria and Palestine; alleged the reasons we have related above; and produced some documents, which were judged so strong, that all the members of this congress were convinced of the justice of his claim to those provinces. As to the conditions of the peace, he postponed them till another opportunity; giving them reason to hope that he would cause a solemn treaty to be drawn up, as soon as two absent persons, whom he named, should be with him; declaring, at the same time, that he would not take a single step without them.

After this answer he decamped, came to Naucratis, marched from thence to Alexandria, and began to besiege it. [e] In this extremity, Ptolemy Euergetes and Cleopatra his sister, who were in the city, sent ambassadors to Rome, representing the deplorable condition to which they were reduced, and imploring the aid of the Romans. The ambassadors appeared in the audience to which they were admitted by the senate, with all the marks of sorrow used at that time in the greatest afflictions, and made a speech still more affecting. They observed that the authority of the Romans was so much revered by all nations and kings; and that Antiochus, particularly, had received so many obligations from them; that if they would only declare by their ambassadors, that the senate did not approve of his making war against kings in alliance with Rome, they did not doubt but Antiochus would immediately draw off his troops from Alexandria, and return to Syria: that should the senate refuse to afford them their protection, Ptolemy and Cleopatra, being expelled from their kingdom, would be immediately reduced to fly to Rome; and that it would reflect a dishonour on the Romans, to have neglected to aid the king and queen, at a time when their affairs were so desperate.

[e] Liv. l. xliv. n. 19. Polyb. Legat. xc.

The senate, moved with their remonstrances, and persuaded that it would not be for the interest of the Romans to suffer Antiochus to attain to such a height of power, and that he would be too formidable should he unite the crown of Egypt to that of Syria, resolved to send an embassy to Egypt, to put an end to the war. C. Popilius Lenas, C. Decimus, and C. Hostilius, were appointed for this important negociation. Their instructions were, that they should first wait upon Antiochus, and afterwards on Ptolemy; should order them, in the name of the senate, to suspend all hostilities, and put an end to the war; and that should either of the parties refuse compliance, the Romans would no longer consider them as their friend and ally. As the danger was imminent, three days after the resolution had been taken in the senate, they set out from Rome with the Egyptian ambassadors.

[f] A little before their departure, some ambassadors from Rhodes arrived in Egypt, who came expressly to terminate, if possible, the disputes between the two crowns. They landed at Alexandria, and went from thence to Antiochus's camp. They did all that lay in their power to induce him to come to an accommodation with the king of Egypt; strongly insisting on the friendship with which both crowns had so long honoured them; and how nearly it concerned them to employ their good offices, in order to settle a lasting peace between them. As they expatiated considerably on these common-place topics, Antiochus interrupted them, and declared in few words, that they had no occasion to make long harangues on this subject; that the crown belonged to the elder of the two brothers, with whom he had concluded a peace and contracted a strict friendship; that, if he were recalled and replaced upon the throne, the war would be ended at once.

[f] Polyb. Legat. lxxxiv.

[g] These indeed were his words, but his intentions were very different; his view being only to perplex affairs, for the attainment of his own ends. The resistance he met with from Alexandria, the siege of which he plainly saw he should be forced to raise, obliged him to change his plan, and conclude, that it would henceforward be his interest to keep up an enmity and occasion a war between the two brothers, which might weaken them to such a degree, that it should be in his power to overpower both whenever he pleased. In this view he raised the siege, marched towards Memphis; and gave Philometor, in outward appearance, possession of the whole kingdom, Pelusium excepted, which he kept as a key for entering Egypt when he pleased, and the instant matters should be ripe for his purpose. After having made these dispositions, he returned to Antioch.

Philometor began at last to wake from the lethargy into which his indolent effeminacy had plunged him, and to be sensible of all the calamities these revolutions had brought upon him. He had even natural penetration enough to see through Antiochus's design; and that king's keeping possession of Pelusium opened his eyes. He saw plainly, that he kept this key of Egypt with no other view than to re-enter it, when his brother and himself should be reduced so low, by the war which they carried on against each other, as to be unable to make the least resistance; and that then, both would fall victims to his ambition. The instant, therefore, that Antiochus marched away; he sent to inform his brother that he was willing to come to an accommodation, which was accordingly effected by the mediation of Cleopatra their sister, on condition that the two brothers should reign jointly. Philometor returned to Alexandria, and Egypt was restored to its former tranquillity, to the great joy of the inhabitants, particularly those of Alexandria, who had suffered exceedingly during the war.

[g] Liv. l. xlv. n. 11.

Had Antiochus spoken from his heart, when he declared that the sole design of his coming into Egypt was to restore Philometor to his throne, he would have been pleased to hear that the two brothers were reconciled. But he was far from entertaining such thoughts; and I before observed, that he concealed beneath those specious professions, an intention to crush the two brothers, after they should have weakened each other by a war.

[h] The brothers, convinced that Antiochus would again invade them with great vigour, sent ambassadors into Greece, to desire some auxiliary forces from the Achæans. The assembly was held in Corinth. The two kings requested only a thousand foot under the command of Lycortas, and two hundred horse, under Polybius. They had also given orders for raising a thousand mercenary troops. Callicrates, who presided in the assembly, opposed the request made by the ambassadors, under the pretence that it would not be for the interest of the Achæan confederates to concern themselves in any manner with foreign affairs; but that they ought to preserve their soldiers, to be in a condition to aid the Romans, who, it was believed, would soon come to a battle with Perseus. Lycortas and Polybius then speaking, observed, among other things, that Polybius having been the year before with Marcius, who commanded the Roman army in Macedonia, to offer him the aid which the Achæan league had decreed to send him; the consul, when he thanked him, said, that as he had got footing in Macedonia, he should not want the aid of the allies; and therefore that the Achæans could not have that pretext for abandoning the kings of Egypt. Besides that, as the league was able without the least inconvenience to levy thirty or forty thousand men, so small a number as was desired by the Egyptian princes would not lessen their strength: that the Achæan confederates ought to

[h] Polyb. Legat. lxxxix.—xci.

embrace the opportunity they now had of aiding the two kings: that it would be the highest ingratitude in them to forget the favours they had received from the Egyptians: and that their refusal on this occasion would be a violation of the treaties and oaths on which the alliance was founded. As the majority were for granting the aid, Callicrates dismissed the ambassadors, upon pretence that it was contrary to the laws, to debate on an affair of that nature in such an assembly.

Another therefore was held, some time after, in Sicyon; and as the members were upon the point of taking the same resolution, Callicrates read a forged letter from Q. Marcius, by which the Achæans were exhorted to employ their mediation for terminating the war between the two Ptolemies and Antiochus; and in consequence caused a decree to pass, whereby the Achæan confederates agreed to send only an embassy to those princes.

A. M. 3836. Ant. J. C. 168. [1] The instant that Antiochus heard of the reconciliation of the two brothers, he resolved to employ his whole force against them. Accordingly he sent his fleet early into Cyprus, to preserve the possession of that island: at the same time he marched at the head of a very powerful land army with the design to conquer Egypt openly, and not pretend, as he had before done, to fight the cause of one of his nephews. Upon his arrival at Rhinocorura, he found ambassadors from Philometor, who told him, that their sovereign was very sensible that he owed his restoration to Antiochus: that he conjured him not to destroy his own work by employing force of arms; but on the contrary, to acquaint him amicably with his pretensions. Antiochus, throwing off the mask, no longer used the tender and affectionate expressions of which he had till then been so ostentatiously lavish, but declared himself at once an enemy to both. He told the ambassadors, that

[1] Liv. l. xlv. n. 11—13. Polyb. Legat. xcii.

insisted upon having the island of Cyprus, with the city of Pelusium, and all the land along the arm of the Nile on which it was situated, resigned to him for ever; assuring them, that he was determined to conclude a peace upon no other conditions. He also fixed a day for a final answer to his demand.

The time being elapsed, and the satisfaction he claimed not being made, he began hostilities; penetrated as far as Memphis, subjecting the whole country through which he passed; and there received the submission of almost all the rest of the kingdom. He afterwards marched towards Alexandria, with design to besiege that city, the possession of which would have made him absolute master of all Egypt. He would certainly have succeeded in his enterprise, had he not been checked in his career by the Roman embassy, which broke all the measures he had been so long taking in order to possess himself of Egypt.

We before observed, that the ambassadors who were nominated to go to Egypt, had left Rome with the utmost diligence. They landed at Alexandria, just at the time Antiochus was marching to besiege it. The ambassadors came up with him at *Eleusine, which was not a mile from Alexandria. The king seeing Popilius, with whom he had been intimately acquainted at Rome when he was a hostage in that city, opened his arms to embrace him as his old friend. The Roman, who did not consider himself on that occasion as a private man, but a servant of the public, desired to know, before he answered his compliment, whether he spoke to a friend or an enemy of Rome. He then gave him the decree of the senate, bid him read it over, and return him an immediate answer. Antiochus, after perusing it, said, he would examine the contents of it with his friends, and give his answer in a short time. Popi-

* Turnebus and H. Valesius think that we should read, in Livy, *Eleusinem* instead of *Leusinem*.

lius, enraged at the king for talking of delays, drew, with the wand he had in his hand, a circle round Antiochus, and then raising his voice; "Answer," says he, "the senate, before you stir out of that "circle." The king, quite confounded at so haughty an order, after a moment's reflection, replied, that he would act according to the desire of the senate. Popilius then received his civilities; and behaved afterwards in all respects as an old friend. *How important was the effect of this blunt loftiness of sentiment and expression! The Roman with a few words strikes terror into the king of Syria, and saves the king of Egypt.

The circumstance which made the one so bold, and the other so submissive, was the news that arrived just before of the great victory gained by the Romans over Perseus king of Macedonia. From that instant, every thing gave way before them; and the Roman name grew formidable to all princes and nations.

Antiochus having left Egypt at the time stipulated, Popilius returned with his colleagues to Alexandria, where he brought to a conclusion the treaty of union between the two brothers, which had hitherto been but slightly sketched out. He then crossed into Cyprus; sent home Antiochus's fleet, which had gained a victory over that of the Egyptians; restored the whole island to the kings of Egypt, who had a just claim to it; and returned to Rome, in order to acquaint the senate with the success of his embassy.

Ambassadors from Antiochus, the two Ptolemies and Cleopatra their sister, arrived there almost at the same time. The former said, "That the peace "which the senate had been pleased to grant their "sovereign, appeared to him more glorious than the

* *Quàm efficax est animi sermonisque abscissa gravitas! Eodem momento Syriæ regnum terruit, Ægypti texit.* VAL. MAX. l. vi. c. 4.

"most splendid conquests; and that he had obeyed "the commands of the Roman ambassadors, as "strictly as if they had been sent from the gods." How groveling, and at the same time how impious was all this! They afterwards congratulated the Romans on the victory they had gained over Perseus. The rest of the ambassadors declared, in the like extravagant strain, "That the two Ptolemies and "Cleopatra thought themselves bound in as great "obligations to the senate and people of Rome, as "to their parents, and even to the gods; having been "delivered, by the protection which Rome had "granted them, from a very grievous siege: and re-"established on the throne of their ancestors, of "which they had been almost entirely dispossessed." The senate answered; "That Antiochus acted wisely "in paying obedience to the ambassadors; and that "the people and senate of Rome were pleased with "him for it." Methinks this is carrying the spirit of haughtiness as high as possible. With regard to Ptolemy and Cleopatra, it was answered; "That "the senate were very much pleased with the oppor-"tunity of doing them some service; and that they "would endeavour to make them sensible, that they "ought to look upon the friendship and protection "of the Romans as the most solid support of their "kingdom." The prætor was then ordered to make the ambassadors the usual presents.

SECT. III. *Antiochus, enraged at what had happened to him in Egypt, wreaks his vengeance on the Jews. He endeavours to abolish the worship of the true* GOD *in Jerusalem. He exercises the most horrid cruelties in that city. The generous resistance made by Mattathias, who, in his expiring moments, exhorts his sons to fight in defence of the law of* GOD. *Judas Maccabeus gains several victories over the generals and armies of Antiochus. That prince, who had marched into Persia, in order to amass treasures there, attempts to plunder a rich temple in Elymais, but is shamefully repulsed. Hearing that his armies had been defeated in Judea, he sets out on a sudden to extirpate all the Jews. In his march, he is struck by the hand of Heaven, and dies in the greatest torments, after having reigned eleven years.*

A. M. 3836. Ant. J.C. 168.

[k] ANTIOCHUS, at his return from Egypt, exasperated to see forcibly torn from him by the Romans, a crown which he looked upon already as his own, made the Jews, though they had not offended him in any manner, feel the whole weight of his wrath. In his march through Palestine, he detached twenty-two thousand men, the command of whom he gave to Apollonius, with orders to destroy the city of Jerusalem.

Apollonius arrived there just two years after this city had been taken by Antiochus. At his first coming, he did not behave in any manner as if he had received such cruel orders, and waited till the first sabbath day before he executed them. But then, seeing all the people assembled peaceably in the synagogues, and engaged in paying their religious

[k] 1 Maccab. i. 30—40. and 2 Maccab. v. 24—27. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 7.

worship to the Creator; he put in execution the barbarous commission he had received, and setting all his troops upon them, commanded them to cut to pieces all the men, and to seize all the women and children, in order that they might be exposed to sale. These commands were obeyed with the utmost cruelty and rigour. Not a single man was spared; all they could find being cruelly butchered, insomuch that the streets streamed with blood. The city was afterwards plundered; and fire set to several parts of it, after all the riches that could be found had been carried off. They demolished such parts of the houses as were still standing; and, with the ruins, built a strong fort on the top of one of the hills of the city of David, opposite to the temple, which it commanded. They threw a strong garrison into it, to awe the whole Jewish nation; they made it a place for arms, furnished with good magazines, where they deposited all the spoils taken in the plunder of the city.

From hence the garrison fell on all who came to worship the true GOD in the temple: and shed their blood on every part of the sanctuary, which they polluted by all possible methods. A stop was put to the morning and evening sacrifices; not one of the servants of the true GOD daring to come and adore him there.

[1] As soon as Antiochus was returned to Antioch, he published a decree, by which the several nations in his dominions were commanded to lay aside their ancient religious ceremonies and their particular usages; and to conform to the religion of the king, and to worship the same gods, and after the same manner as he did. This decree, though expressed in general terms, was nevertheless aimed chiefly at the Jews, whose religion, as well as their nation, he was absolutely determined to extirpate.

[1] 1 Maccab. i. 41—64. and 2 Maccab. vi. 1—7. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 7.

In order that this edict might be punctually executed, he sent commissioners into all the provinces of his empire, who were commanded to see it put in execution, and to instruct the people in all the ceremonies and customs to which they were to conform.

The Gentiles obeyed with no great reluctance. However little affected we might suppose them to be with the change of their worship or gods, they however were not very well pleased with this innovation in religious matters. No people seemed more eager to comply with the orders of the court than the Samaritans. They presented a petition to the king, in which they declared themselves not to be Jews; and desired that their temple, built on mount Gerizim, which, till then, had not been dedicated to any deity in particular,* might henceforwards be dedicated to the *Grecian Jupiter*, and be called after his name. Antiochus received their petition very graciously; and ordered Nicanor, deputy governor of the province of Samaria, to dedicate their temple to the Grecian Jupiter as they had desired, and not to molest them in any manner.

But the Samaritans were not the only apostates who forsook their GOD and their law in this trial. Several Jews also, either to escape the persecution, to ingratiate themselves with the king or his officers, or else from inclination and libertinism, did the same. From these different motives many fell from Israel;[m] and several of those who had once taken this wicked step, joining themselves with the king's forces, became (as is but too common) greater persecutors of their unhappy brethren than the heathens themselves, employed to execute this barbarous commission.

[m] 1 Maccab. vi. 21—24.

* They expressed themselves in that manner, because the mighty name of the God of Israel (*Jehovah*) was never uttered by the Jews.

The commissioner who was sent into Judea and Samaria, to see the king's decree punctually obeyed, was called Athenæus, a man advanced in years, and extremely well versed in all the ceremonies of the Grecian idolatry, who, for that reason, was judged a fit person to invite those nations to join in it. As soon as he arrived in Jerusalem, he began by putting a stop to the sacrifices which were offered up to the GOD of Israel, and suppressing all the observances of the Jewish law. They polluted the temple in such a manner, that it was no longer fit for the service of GOD; profaned the sabbaths and other festivals; forbid the circumcision of children; carried off and burnt all the copies of the law wherever they could find them; abolished all the ordinances of GOD in every part of the country, and put to death whoever was found to have acted contrary to the decree of the king. The Syrian soldiers, and the commissioner who commanded over them, were the chief instruments by which the Jews were converted to the religion professed by the sovereign.

To establish it the sooner in every part of the nation, altars and chapels filled with idols were erected in every city, and sacred groves were planted. Officers were appointed over these, who caused all the people in general to offer sacrifices in them every month, on the day of the month on which the king was born, who made them eat swine's flesh, and other unclean animals sacrificed there.

[n] One of these officers, Apelles by name, came to Modin, the residence of Mattathias, of the sacerdotal race, a venerable man, and extremely zealous for the law of GOD. He was son to John, and grandson to Simon, from whose father Asmoneus the family was called Asmoneans. With him were his five sons, all brave men, and fired with as ardent a zeal for the law of GOD as himself. These were

[n] 1 Maccab. ii. 1—30. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 8.

Joannan, surnamed *Gaddis;* Simon, surnamed *Thasi;* Judas, surnamed *Maccabeus;* Eleazar, surnamed *Abaron;* and Jonathan, surnamed *Apphus.* On his arrival at Modin, Apelles assembled the inhabitants, and explained to them the purport of his commission. Directing himself afterwards to Mattathias, he endeavoured to persuade him to conform to the king's orders; in hopes that the conversion of so venerable a man would induce all the rest of the inhabitants to follow his example. He promised that, in case of his compliance, the king would rank him in the number of his friends, and appoint him a member of his council; and that himself and his sons should be raised, by the court, to the greatest honours and preferments. Mattathias said, with a loud voice so as to be heard by the whole assembly,* that though all the nations of the earth should obey king Antiochus, and all the people of Israel should abandon the law of their forefathers, and obey his ordinances, yet himself, his children, and his brothers, would adhere for ever inviolably to the law of GOD.

After having made this declaration, seeing a Jew going up to the altar which the heathens had raised, to sacrifice there in obedience to the king's injunction; fired with a zeal like that of Phineas, and transported with a† just and holy indignation, he rushed upon the apostate and killed him: after this, being assisted by his sons, and some others who joined them, he also killed the king's commissioner and all his followers. Having in a manner set up the standard by this bold action, he cried aloud in the city;‡ "Whosoever is zealous of the law,"

° 1 Maccab. vii. 27.

* *Etsi omnes gentes regi Antiocho obediunt, ut discedat unusquisque à servitute legis patrum suorum, et consentiat mandatis ejus: ego, et filii mei, et fratres mei, obediemus legi patrum nostrorum.*

† GOD had commanded his people to slay those who should persuade them to sacrifice to idols. See Deut. ch. xiii. ver. 6—11.

‡ *Omnis, qui zelum habet legis, statuens testamentum, exeat post me.*

"and maintaineth the covenants, let him follow me." Having now assembled his whole family, and all who were truly zealous for the worship of GOD, he retired with them to the mountains, whither they were soon followed by others; so that all the deserts of Judea were filled, in a little time, with people who fled from the persecution.

[p] At first, when the Jews were attacked on the sabbath, for fear of violating the holiness of the day they did not dare to make the least defence, but suffered themselves to be cut to pieces. However, they soon became sensible, that the law of the sabbath was not binding on persons in the case of such imminent danger.

[q] Advice being brought to Antiochus, that his decrees were not so implicitly obeyed in Judea as in all other nations, he went thither in person, in order to see them put in execution. He exercised the most horrid cruelties over all such Jews as refused to abjure their religion; in order to force the rest, by the dread of the like inhuman treatment, to comply with what was required of them. [r] At this time happened the martyrdom of Eleazar; and that of the mother and her seven sons, commonly called the Maccabees. Although their history is universally known, it appears to me so important, and relates so nearly to Antiochus, whose reign I am now writing, that I cannot prevail with myself to omit it. I shall therefore repeat it in almost the very words of Scripture. A. M. 3837. Ant. J. C. 167.

The extreme violence of the persecution occasioned many Jews to fall away: but on the other side, several continued inflexible, and chose to suffer death, rather than pollute themselves by eating impure meats. One of the most illustrious among these was Eleazar. He was a venerable old man, ninety

[p] 1 Maccab. ii. 31—41. 2 Maccab. vi. 11. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 8.

[q] Joseph. de Maccab. c. iv. & v. [r] 2 Maccab. c. vi. & vii.

years of age, and a doctor of the law, whose life had been one continued series of spotless innocence. He was commanded to eat swine's flesh, and endeavours were used to make him swallow it, by forcibly opening his mouth. But Eleazar, preferring a glorious death to a criminal life, went voluntarily to execution; and persevering in his resolute patience, was determined not to infringe the law to save his life.

His friends who were present, moved with an unjust compassion, took him aside, and earnestly besought him to permit them to bring him such meats as he was allowed to eat; in order that it might be imagined that he had eaten of the meats of the sacrifice, pursuant to the king's command; and by that means save his life. But Eleazar, considering only what his great age, the noble and generous sentiments he was born with, and the life of purity and innocence which he had led from his infancy, required of him, answered, pursuant to the ordinances of the holy law of GOD, that he would rather die than consent to what was desired of him. "It would be shameful," says he to them, "for me, at this age, to use such an artifice, which "would occasion many young men, upon the suppo- "sition that Eleazar, at fourscore and ten years of "age, had embraced the principles of the heathens, "to be imposed upon by the deceit, which I should "have employed to preserve the short remains of a "corruptible life; and thereby I should dishonour "my old age, and expose it to the curses of all men. "Besides, supposing I should by that means for the "present avoid the punishment of men, I could "never fly from the hand of the Almighty, neither "in this world nor in that which is to come. For "this reason, if I lay down my life courageously, I "shall appear worthy of my old age; and shall leave "behind me, for the imitation of young people, an "example of constancy and resolution, by suffering "patiently an honourable death, for the sake of our

" venerable and holy laws." Eleazar had no sooner ended his speech, than he was dragged to execution. The officers that attended him, and who hitherto had behaved with some humanity towards him, grew furious upon what he had said, which they looked upon as the effect of pride. When the torments had made him ready to breathe his last, he vented a deep sigh, and said: "O LORD! " thou who art possessed of the holy knowledge, " thou seest that I, who could have delivered my- " self from death, do yet suffer cruel agonies in my " body; but in my soul find joy in my sufferings, " because I fear thee." Thus died this holy man, leaving by his death, not only to the young men, but to his whole nation, a glorious example of virtue and resolution.

At this time seven brothers, with their mother, were seized; and king Antiochus would force them to eat swine's flesh contrary to their law, by causing their bodies to be scourged in a most inhuman manner. But the eldest of the brethren said to him: " What is it thou wouldst ask or learn of us? " We are ready to lay down our lives, rather than " violate the holy laws which GOD gave to our " forefathers." The king being exasperated at these words, ordered brazen pans and caldrons to be heated: and, when they were red, he caused the tongue of that man who had spoken first, to be cut off; had the skin torn from his head, and the extremities of his hands and feet cut off, before the eyes of his mother and his brethren. After being mutilated in every part of his body, he was brought to the fire, and fried in the pan. Whilst these tortures were inflicting upon him, his brothers and their mother exhorted each other to die courageously, saying, " The LORD GOD will have regard to truth; he will " have pity on us, and comfort us, as Moses declares " in his song."

The first dying in this manner, the second was

taken; and after the skin of his head, with the hair, were torn away, he was asked whether he would eat of some meats which were presented to him, before that all his limbs should be severed one after another from his body. But he answered in the language of his country, "I will not." He was then tortured in the same manner as his brother. Being ready to expire, he spoke thus to the king: "Wicked "prince! you bereave us of this present life: but "the King of heaven and earth, if we die for the "defence of his laws, will one day raise us up to "everlasting life."

They now proceeded to the third. He was commanded to put forth his tongue, which he did immediately; and afterwards stretching forth his hands manfully, he bravely said: "I received these limbs "from Heaven, but now I despise them, since I am "to defend the laws of GOD; from the sure and "steadfast hopes that he will one day restore them to "me." The king and all his followers were astonished at the intrepidity of this young man, who utterly disregarded the severest tortures.

The fourth was tortured in the same manner, and being ready to die, he said to the king: "It is for "our advantage to be killed by men, because we "hope that GOD, by raising us up again, will restore "us to life; but thy resurrection, O king, shall not "be unto life."

The fifth, whilst they were tormenting him, said to Antiochus: "You now act according to your "own will and pleasure, because you are invested "with absolute power among men, though you are "but a mortal man. But do not imagine that GOD "has forsaken our nation. Stay but a little, and "you will see the wondrous effects of his power; "and in what manner he will torment both yourself "and your posterity."

The sixth came next, who, the moment before he expired, said: "Do not deceive yourself: it is

"true, indeed, our sins have drawn upon us the "exquisite tortures which we now suffer; but do "not flatter yourself with the hopes of impunity, "after having presumed to make war against GOD "himself."

In the mean time their mother, supported by the hopes that she had in GOD, beheld with incredible resolution all her seven sons die thus in one day. She encouraged them by her discourse full of fortitude and wisdom, and uniting a manly courage with the tenderness of a mother, she said to them: "I know not in what manner you were formed in "my womb; for it was not I who inspired you with "a soul and with life, nor formed your mem-"bers; but I am sure that the Creator of the "world who fashioned man, and who gave being "to all things, will one day restore you to life by "his infinite mercy, in return for your having "despised it here, out of the love you bear to his "laws."

There still remained her youngest son. Antiochus began to exhort him to compliance; assuring him, with an oath, that he would raise him to riches and power, and rank him in the number of his favourites, if he would forsake the laws of his forefathers. But the youth being insensible to all these promises, the king called his mother, and advised her to counsel the young man so as to save his life. This she promised; and going up to her son, and laughing at the tyrant's cruelty, she said to him in her native language, "Son, have pity on me, who "bore you nine months in my womb; who for "three years fed you with milk from my breasts, "and brought you up to your present age. I con-"jure you, dear child, to look upon heaven and earth, "and every thing they contain, and to consider that "GOD formed them all of things that were not, as "well as man. Fear not that cruel executioner; but "show yourself worthy of your brethren, by submit-"ting cheerfully to death; in order that, by the mercy

" of GOD, I may receive you, together with your " brothers, in the glory which awaits us."

As she was speaking in this manner, the young man cried aloud: " What is it you expect from " me? I do not obey the king's command, but the " law which was given us by Moses. As to you, " from whom all the calamities with which the " Hebrews are afflicted flow, you shall not escape " the hand of the Almighty. Our sufferings, in- " deed, are owing to our sins; but if the LORD " our GOD, to chasten and correct us, be for a little " time angry with us, he at last will be appeased " and be reconciled to his servants. But as for " you, the most wicked, the most impious of men, " do not flatter yourself with vain hopes. You " shall not escape the judgment of GOD, who is " all-seeing and omnipotent. As to my brothers, " they, after having suffered a moment the most " cruel tortures, have entered into the eternal co- " venant. In imitation of the example they have " set me, I freely give up my body and life for the " laws of my forefathers; and I beseech GOD to " extend his mercy soon to our nation; to force you " by plagues and tortures to confess that he is the " only GOD; and that his anger, which is justly " fallen on the Hebrews, may end by my death and " that of my brethren."

The king, now transported with fury, and unable to bear these insults, caused this last youth to be tortured more grievously than the rest. Thus he died in the same holy manner as his brethren, and with full confidence in GOD. At last the mother also suffered death.

A. M. 3838. Ant. J. C. 166. [a] Mattathias, before he died, sent for his five sons, and after exhorting them to fight valiantly for the law of GOD against their persecutors, he appointed Judas for their general, and Simon as president of the council. He afterwards died, and was

[a] 1 Maccab. ii. 49—70. Joseph. Antiq. l. viii. c. 12.

interred at Modin, in the burying-place of his ancestors, much regretted and lamented by all the faithful Israelites.

[t] Antiochus, finding that Paulus Æmilius after having defeated Perseus and conquered Macedonia, had solemnized games in the city of Amphipolis, situated on the river Strymon, was desirous of doing the same at Daphne near Antioch. He appointed the time for them, sent to all places to invite spectators, and drew together prodigious multitudes. The games were celebrated with incredible pomp, cost immense sums, and lasted several days. The part he there acted during the whole time, answered in every respect to the character given of him by Daniel,[u] who calls him a *vile* or contemptible *person;* as I have said elsewhere. He there committed so many extravagant actions before that infinite multitude of people, assembled from different parts of the earth, that he became the laughing-stock of them all: and many of them were so much disgusted, that to prevent their being spectators of a conduct so unworthy a prince, and so repugnant to the rules of modesty and decorum, they refused to go any more to the feasts to which he invited them.

[x] He had scarce ended the solemnization of these games, when Tiberius Gracchus arrived as ambassador from the Romans, in order to have an eye on Antiochus's actions. That prince gave him so polite and friendly a reception, that the ambassador not only laid aside all suspicion with regard to him, and did not perceive that he retained any resentment for what had happened in Alexandria, but even blamed those who had spread such reports of him. And indeed Antiochus, besides other civilities, quitted his palace to make room for Tiberius Gracchus and his train,

[t] Polyb. apud Athen. l. v. p. 193, &c. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 321.

[u] Dan. xi. 21.

[x] Polyb. Legat. ci.—civ. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 322.

and was even going to resign his crown to him. The ambassador ought to have been politician enough to suspect all these civilities; for it is certain that Antiochus was meditating, at that time, how he might best revenge himself of the Romans; but he disguised his sentiments, in order to gain time, and to be the better able to carry on his preparations.

[y] Whilst Antiochus was amusing himself with celebrating games at Daphne, Judas was acting a very different part in Judea. After having levied an army, he fortified the cities, rebuilt the fortresses, threw strong garrisons into them, and thereby awed the whole country. Apollonius, who was governor of Samaria under Antiochus, thought he should be able to check his progress, and accordingly marched directly against him. However, Judas defeated him, killed him, and made a great slaughter of his troops. Seron, another commander, who had flattered himself with the hopes of revenging the affront his master had received, met with the same fate as Apollonius and like him was also defeated and killed in the battle.

When news was brought to Antiochus of this double defeat, he was exasperated to fury. Immediately he assembled all his troops, which formed a mighty army, and determined to destroy the whole Jewish nation, and to settle other people in their country. But when his troops were to be paid, he had not sufficient sums in his coffers, having exhausted them in the foolish expences he had lately been at. For want of money he was obliged to suspend the vengeance he meditated against the Jewish nation, and all the plans he had formed for the immediate execution of that design.

[z] He had squandered immense sums on the games.

[y] 1 Maccab. iii. 1—26. 2 Maccab. viii. 5—7. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 10.

[z] Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 11.

Besides this, he had been extravagantly profuse in every other respect, particularly in the presents he bestowed on private persons and whole bodies of men. He would often throw hands-full of money among his attendants and others; sometimes seasonably enough, but most frequently without sense or reason. On these occasions he verified what the prophet Daniel had foretold of him, that he should "[a] scatter among them the prey and spoil of riches:" and the author of the [b] Maccabees says, that he had been exceedingly liberal, and had "abounded above "the kings that were before him." We are told by [c] Athenæus, that the funds which enabled him to defray so prodigious an expence were, first, the spoils he had taken in Egypt, contrary to the promise he had made Philometor in his minority; secondly, the sums he had raised among his friends, by way of free gifts; lastly (which was the most considerable article), the plunder of a great number of temples, which he had sacrilegiously pillaged.

[d] Besides the difficulties to which the want of money reduced him, others arose, according to Daniel's prophecy, "from the tidings" which came to him "out of the East and out of the North." For northward, Artaxias, king of Armenia, had rebelled against him; and Persia, which lay eastward, discontinued the regular payment of the tribute. [e] There, as in almost every other part of his dominions, all things seemed in the utmost confusion, occasioned by the new ordinance by which the ancient customs of so many of his subjects were abolished; and those of the Greeks, of which he was ridiculously fond, established in their stead. These commotions occasioned great confusion with respect to the payments, which, till then, had been very regular throughout that vast and rich empire, and had always supplied

[a] Dan. xi. 24. [b] 1 Maccab. iii. 30. [c] Athen. l. 5. p. 195.
[d] Dan. xi. 44. & Hieron. in hunc locum.
[e] 1 Maccab. iii. 29.

sums sufficient to defray the great expences it was necessary to incur.

[f] To remedy these grievances, as well as a multitude of others, he resolved to divide his forces into two parts: to give the command of one of his armies to Lysias, descended from the blood-royal, in order that he might subdue the Jews; and to march the other himself into Armenia, and afterwards into Persia, to regulate affairs and restore order in those provinces. He accordingly left to Lysias the government of all the countries on this side the Euphrates; and the care of his son's education, who was then only seven years old, and who afterwards was called *Antiochus Eupator*. After passing mount Taurus, he entered Armenia, defeated Artaxias, and took him prisoner. He marched from thence into Persia, where he supposed he should have no other trouble than to receive the tribute of that rich province, and those in its neighbourhood. He fondly flattered himself that he should there find sums sufficient to fill his coffers, and reinstate all his affairs upon as good a foot as ever.

Whilst he was revolving all these projects, Lysias was meditating how he might best put in execution the orders he had left him, especially those which related to the Jews. The king had commanded him to extirpate them, so as not to leave one Hebrew in the country; which he intended to people with other inhabitants, and to distribute the lands among them by lot. He thought it necessary for him to make the more dispatch in this expedition, because advice was daily brought him that the arms of Judas made prodigious progress, and increased in strength by taking all the fortresses which he approached.

Philip, whom Antiochus had left governor of Judea, seeing Judas's success, had sent expresses, with advice of this, to Ptolemy Macron, governor

[f] 1 Maccab. iii. 31—60. & iv. 1—25. 2 Maccab. viii. 8—28. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 11. Appian. in Syr. p. 117. Hieron. in Dan. xi. 44.

of Cœle-syria and Palestine, on which Judea depended; and had pressed him, by letter, to employ such measures as might best support the interests of their common sovereign in this important conjuncture. Macron had communicated his advices and letters to Lysias. A resolution was therefore immediately taken, to send an army, of which Ptolemy Macron was appointed generalissimo, into Judea. He appointed Nicanor, his intimate friend, his lieutenant-general; sent him before, at the head of twenty thousand men, with Gorgias, a veteran officer of consummate experience, to assist him. Accordingly they entered the country, and were soon followed by Ptolemy, with the rest of the forces intended for that expedition. The army, after their junction, came and encamped at Emmaus, near Jerusalem. It consisted of forty thousand foot and seven thousand horse.

Thither also repaired an army of another kind. It consisted of merchants who came to purchase the slaves, who, it was supposed, would certainly be taken in that war. Nicanor, who had flattered himself with the hopes of levying large sums of money by this means, sufficient to pay the two *thousand talents which the king still owed the Romans, on account of the ancient treaty of Sipylus, published a proclamation in the neighbouring countries, declaring that all the prisoners taken in that war should be sold, at the rate of ninety for a talent.† A resolution indeed had been taken to cut to pieces all the men grown; to reduce all the rest to a state of captivity; and one hundred and eighty thousand of the latter, at the price above mentioned, would have sold exactly for the sum in question. The merchants, therefore, finding this would be a very profitable article to them (as it was a very low price), flocked

* About three hundred thousand pounds sterling.

† A thousand crowns.

thither in crowds, and brought considerable sums with them. We are told that a thousand, all of them very considerable merchants, arrived in the Syrian camp on this occasion, without including their domestics, and the persons that would be wanted to look after the captives they intended to purchase.

Judas and his brethren, perceiving the danger with which they were threatened by the approach of so powerful an army, which they knew had been commanded to extirpate entirely the Jewish nation, resolved to make a very vigorous defence; to fight for themselves, their law, and their liberty; and either to conquer or die sword in hand. Accordingly they divided the six thousand men under their command into four bodies of fifteen hundred men each. Judas put himself at the head of the first, and gave the command of the three others to his brethren. He afterwards marched them to Maspha, there to offer together their prayers to God, and to implore his assistance in the extreme danger to which they were now exposed. He made choice of this place, because, as Jerusalem was in the hands of their enemies, and the sanctuary trodden down, they could not assemble in it to solemnize that religious act; and Maspha seemed the fittest place for that purpose, because GOD was worshipped there [g]before the foundation of the temple.

Here are now two armies ready to engage; the numbers on each side very unequal, and the disposition of their minds still more so. They agree, however, in one point; that is, both are firmly persuaded they shall gain the victory; the one, because they have a mighty army of well-disciplined troops, commanded by brave and experienced generals; the other, because they put their whole trust in the GOD of armies.

After proclamation had been made according to

[g] Judges, xx. 1. 1 Sam. vii. 5.

the [h]law, that those who had built a house that year, or married a wife, or planted a vine, or were afraid, had liberty to retire; Judas's six thousand men were reduced to half that number. Nevertheless this valiant captain of the people of GOD, resolutely determined to fight the mighty host of the enemy with only this handful of men, and to leave the issue to Providence, advanced with his few forces, encamped very near the enemy, and told his soldiers, after having animated them by all the motives which the present conjuncture supplied, that he intended to give the Syrians battle on the morrow, and therefore that they must prepare for it.

But receiving advice that same evening, that Gorgias had been detached from the enemy's camp with five thousand foot and a thousand horse, all chosen troops, and that he was marching by a by-way, through which the apostate Jews led him, in order to come and surprise his camp in the night; he was not satisfied with frustrating that design, but even made use of the very stratagem which the enemy intended to employ against him, and was successful in it; for, raising his camp immediately, and carrying off all the baggage, he marched and attacked the enemy's camp, weakened by the best troops having been detached from it; and spread such terror and confusion into every part of it, that after three thousand Syrians had been cut to pieces, the rest fled, and left him the whole plunder of their camp.

As Gorgias was still to be apprehended, at the head of this formidable detachment, Judas, like a wise captain, kept his troops together, and would not suffer them to straggle about after plunder, or in pursuit of the enemy, till they should have defeated that body also. He was successful, without coming to a battle; for Gorgias, after failing to meet with Judas in his camp, and having sought for him in vain in the

[h] Deut. xx. 5, &c.

mountains, whither he supposed he had retired, withdrew at last into his camp, and finding it in flames, and the army routed and put to flight, it was impossible for him to keep his soldiers in order; so that these threw down their arms and fled also. Then Judas and the men under his command pursued them vigorously, and cut to pieces a greater number on this occasion than they had before done in the camp. Nine thousand Syrians were left dead in the field, and the greatest part of those who escaped were either maimed or wounded.

After this Judas marched back his soldiers, in order to plunder the camp, where they met with immense booty; and great numbers of those who were come, as to a fair, to buy the captive Jews, were themselves taken prisoners and sold. The next day, being the sabbath, was kept in the most religious manner. The Hebrews, on that occasion, gave themselves up to a holy joy, and returned a solemn thanksgiving to GOD for the great and signal deliverance he had wrought in their favour.

We have here a sensible image of the feeble opposition which an arm of flesh is able to make against that of the Almighty, on whom alone the fate of battles depends. It is evident that Judas was fully sensible of his own weakness. "How can we," says he to the Almighty before the battle, "stand before "them, unless thou thyself assistest us?" And it is as evident that he was no less firmly persuaded of the success of his arms. "The victory," he had said before, "does not depend on the number of "soldiers, but it is from Heaven that all our strength "comes." But although Judas had so entire a confidence in GOD, he employs all those expedients which the most experienced and bravest general could use, in order to obtain the victory. How excellent a pattern have we here for generals! to pray with humility, because all things depend on GOD; and to act with vigour, as if all things depended on man.—We still possess (thanks to the Almighty) ge-

nerals who glory in entertaining such thoughts; and who, at the head of great armies, composed of as brave soldiers as ever were, as well as of officers and commanders of an almost unparalleled courage and zeal, do not rely on all those human advantages, but solely on the protection of the GOD of armies.

[k] Judas, encouraged by the important victory he had gained, and reinforced by a great number of troops whom this success brought to him, employed the advantage which this gave him to distress the rest of his enemies. Knowing that Timotheus and Bacchides, two of Antiochus's lieutenants, were raising troops to fight him, he marched against them, defeated them in a great battle, and killed upwards of twenty thousand of their men.

[l] Lysias hearing of the ill success which Antiochus's arms had met with in Judea, and the great losses he had sustained in that country, was in great astonishment and perplexity. However, knowing that the king had a strong desire to extirpate that nation, he made mighty preparations for a new expedition against the Jews. Accordingly he levied an army of sixty thousand foot and five thousand horse, all chosen troops, and putting himself at their head, he marched into Judea, firmly resolved to lay waste the whole country, and to destroy all the inhabitants. A. M. 3839. Ant. J. C. 165.

He encamped at Bethsura, a city standing to the south of Jerusalem, towards the frontiers of Idumæa. Judas advanced towards him at the head of ten thousand men; and fully persuaded that the LORD would assist him, he engaged the enemy with this disproportionate body of troops, killed five thousand of them, and put the rest to flight. Lysias, dismayed at the surprising valour of Judas's soldiers, who fought with intrepid courage, determined to conquer or die, led back his defeated army to An-

[k] 2 Maccab. viii. 30—33.
[l] 1 Maccab. iv. 26—35. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 11.

tioch; intending, nevertheless, to come and attack them again the next year with a still more powerful body of forces.

[m] Judas, being left master of the country by the retreat of Lysias, took advantage of this interval of rest, and marched to Jerusalem, where he recovered the sanctuary from the heathens, purified and dedicated it again to the service of GOD. This solemn dedication continued for eight days, which were spent in thanksgiving for the deliverance that GOD had vouchsafed them; and it was ordained that the anniversary of it should be solemnized every year. The neighbouring nations, jealous of the prosperity of the Jews, made a league to destroy them, and resolved to join Antiochus, in order to extirpate that people.

A. M. 3840. Ant. J. C. 164. [n] This prince was then in Persia, levying the tribute which had not been paid regularly. He was informed that Elymais was thought to abound with riches; and especially, that in a temple of that city, which according to Polybius was dedicated to Diana, and to Venus according to Appian, prodigious sums were laid up. He went thither with a design to take the city, and plunder the temple, as he had before done to Jerusalem; but his design having been discovered, the country people and the inhabitants of the city took up arms to defend their temple, and gave him a shameful repulse. Antiochus, enraged at this disgrace, withdrew to Ecbatana.

To add to this affliction, news was there brought him of the defeat of Nicanor and Timotheus in Judea. In the violence of his rage he set out with all possible expedition, in order to make that nation feel the dreadful effects of his wrath; venting nothing but menaces on his march, and breathing only

[m] 1 Maccab. iv. 35—61. & v. 1, 2. 2 Maccab. x. 1—8. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 11.

[n] 1 Maccab. vi. 1—16. 2 Maccab. ix. 1—29. Polyb. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 145. Appian. in Syr. p. 131.

final ruin and destruction. Advancing in this disposition towards Babylonia, which was in his way, fresh expresses came to him with advice of Lysias's defeat, and also that the Jews had retaken the temple, thrown down the altars and idols which he had set up in them, and re-established their ancient worship. At this news his fury increased. Immediately he commands his coachman to drive with the utmost speed, in order that he might sooner have an opportunity of fully satiating his vengeance; threatening to make Jerusalem the burying place of the whole Jewish nation, and not to leave one single inhabitant in it. He had scarce uttered that blasphemous expression, when he was struck by the hand of GOD. He was seized with incredible pains in his bowels, and the most excessive pangs of the cholic. "Thus "the murderer and blasphemer," says the author of the Maccabees, "having suffered most grievously, as "he treated other men, so died he a miserable "death."

But still his pride was not abated by this first shock; so far from it, that suffering himself to be hurried away by the wild transports of his fury, and breathing nothing but vengeance against the Jews, he gave orders for proceeding with all possible speed in the journey. But as his horses were running forwards impetuously, he fell from his chariot, and thereby bruised, in a grievous manner, every part of his body; so that his attendants were forced to put him into a litter, where he suffered inexpressible torments. Worms crawled from every part of him; his flesh fell away piece-meal; and the stench was so great, that it became intolerable to the whole army. Being himself unable to bear it, [o] "It is meet," says he, "to be subject unto GOD; and man, who "is mortal, should not think of himself as if he were "a god." Acknowledging that it was the hand of

[o] 2 Maccab. ix. 12.

the GOD of Israel which struck him, because of the calamities he had brought upon Jerusalem, he promises to exert the utmost liberality towards his chosen people; to enrich with precious gifts the holy temple of Jerusalem, which he had plundered; to furnish, from his revenues, the sums necessary for defraying the expence of the sacrifices; to turn Jew himself; and to travel into every part of the world in order to publish the power of the Almighty. He hoped he should calm his wrath by these mighty promises, which the violence of his present affliction, and the fear of future torments, extorted from his mouth, but not from his heart. But, adds the author of the Maccabees; [p] "This wicked person "vowed unto the LORD, who now no more would "have mercy upon him." And indeed this murderer and blasphemer (these are the names which this writer substitutes in the place of *illustrious*, which men had bestowed on that prince), being struck in a dreadful manner, and treated as he treated others, finished an impious life by a miserable death.*

Before he expired, he sent for Philip, who had been brought up with him from his infancy, and was his favourite; and bestowed on him the regency of Syria during the minority of his son, then nine years of age. He put into his hands the diadem, the seal of the empire, and all the other ensigns of royalty; exhorting him, especially, to employ his utmost endeavours to give him such an education as would best teach him the art of reigning, and of governing his subjects with justice and moderation.

[p] 2 Maccab. ix. 13.

* Polybius attests the truth of this, and relates that Antiochus was troubled with a perpetual delirium; imagining that spectres stood continually before him, reproaching him with his crimes. This historian, who was unacquainted with the Scriptures, assigns as the cause of this punishment, the sacrilegious attempt formed by this prince against the temple of Diana in Elymais. POLYB. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 145.

Few princes give such instructions to their children till they are near their end: and that, after having set them a quite different example during their whole lives. Philip caused the king's body to be conveyed to Antioch. This prince had reigned eleven years.

SECT. IV. *Prophecies of Daniel relating to Antiochus Epiphanes.*

As Antiochus Epiphanes was a violent persecutor of the people of GOD, who formed the Jewish Church, and was at the same time the type of the Antichrist, who in after-ages was to afflict the Christian Church; Daniel details much more fully his prophecy respecting this prince, than those which relate to any other of whom he makes mention. This prophecy consists of two parts; one of which relates to his wars in Egypt, and the other to the persecution carried on by him against the Jews. We shall treat these separately, and unite together the various places where mention is made of them.

I. THE WARS OF ANTIOCHUS EPIPHANES AGAINST EGYPT, FORETOLD BY DANIEL THE PROPHET.

[q] "And in his," Seleucus Philopator's, "estate "shall stand up a vile person, to whom they shall not "give the honour of the kingdom: but he shall come "in peaceably, and obtain the kingdom by flatteries." This verse, which points out the accession of Antiochus to the crown, has been already explained.

[r] "And with the arms of a flood shall they," the Syrians, "be overflown before him," Antiochus Epiphanes, "and shall be broken; yea, also the

[q] Dan. xi. 21. [r] Ver. 22.

" prince of the covenant." Heliodorus, the murderer of Seleucus and his adherents, as also those of the Egyptian king, who had formed designs against Syria, were defeated by the forces of Attalus and Eumenes, and dispersed by the arrival of Antiochus, whose presence disconcerted all their projects. By the " prince of the covenant," we may suppose to be meant, either Heliodorus, the ringleader of the conspirators, who had killed Seleucus; or rather Ptolemy Epiphanes, king of Egypt, who lost his life by a conspiracy of his own subjects, at the very time that he was meditating a war against Syria. Thus Providence removed this powerful adversary, to make way for Antiochus, and raise him to the throne.

It appears that the prophet, in the following verses, points out clearly enough the four different expeditions of Antiochus into Egypt.

Antiochus's *first* Expedition *into* Egypt.

[a] " And after the league made with him," with Ptolemy Philometor his nephew, king of Egypt, " he shall work deceitfully; for he shall come up, " and shall become strong with a small people." Antiochus, though he was already determined on the war, still assumed a specious appearance of friendship for the king of Egypt. He even sent Apollonius to Memphis, to be present at the banquet given on occasion of that prince's coronation, as a proof that it was agreeable to him. Nevertheless, soon after, on pretence of defending his nephew, he marched into Egypt with a " small " army," in comparison of those which he levied afterwards. The battle was fought near Pelusium. Antiochus was " strong," that is, victorious: and afterwards returned to Tyre. Such was the end of his first expedition.

[a] Dan. xi. 23.

ANTIOCHUS'S *second* EXPEDITION *into* EGYPT.

[t] "He shall enter peaceably even upon the fattest "places of the province (Egypt), and he shall do that "which his fathers have not done, nor his fathers' "fathers; he shall scatter among them (his troops) the "prey and spoil and riches; yea, and he shall forecast "his devices against the strong holds, even for a time.

[u] "And he shall stir up his power and his courage "against the king of the South (of Egypt) with a great "army, and the king of the South shall be stirred up "to battle with a very great and mighty army; but "he shall not stand, for they shall forecast devices "against him.

[x] "Yea, they that feed of the portion of his "(the king of Egypt's) meat, shall destroy him, and "his army shall overflow; and many shall fall down "slain."

In these three verses appear the principal characters of Antiochus's second expedition into Egypt; his mighty armies, his rapid conquests, the rich spoils he carried from thence, and the dissimulation and treachery he began to put in practice towards Ptolemy.

Antiochus, after employing the whole winter in making preparations for a second expedition into Egypt, invaded it both by sea and land, the instant the season would permit. [y] "Wherefore he entered "into Egypt with a great multitude, with chariots, "and elephants, and horsemen, and a great navy. "And made war against Ptolemy king of Egypt: "but Ptolemy was afraid of him, and fled; and many "were wounded to death. Thus they got the strong "cities in the land of Egypt, and he took the spoils "thereof."

[t] Dan. xi. ver. 24. [u] Ver. 25. [x] Ver. 26.
[y] 1 Maccab. i. 17, 18, 19.

Daniel, some verses after, is more minute and circumstantial in his prophecy of this event.

[z] "And at the time of the end shall the king of "the South push at him (Ptolemy is here meant); "and the king of the North (Antiochus) shall come "against him like a whirlwind, with chariots and "with horsemen, and with many ships; and he shall "enter into the countries, and shall overflow and pass "over.

[a] "He shall enter also into the glorious land, and "many countries shall be overthrown: but he shall "escape out of his hand.

[b] "He shall stretch forth his hand also upon the "countries, and the land of Egypt shall not escape.

[c] "But he shall have power over the treasures of "gold and silver, and over the precious things of "Egypt."

If we compare the relation given by the author of the Maccabees with Daniel's prophecy, we find a perfect resemblance, except that the prophet is even more clear and particular than the historian.

[d] Diodorus relates, that Antiochus, after this victory, conquered all Egypt, or at least the greatest part of it: for all the cities, Alexandria excepted, opened their gates to the conqueror. He subdued Egypt with an astonishing rapidity, and did that [e] "which his forefathers had not done, nor his fathers' "fathers."

Ptolemy either surrendered himself, or fell into the hands of Antiochus, who at first treated him with kindness; had but one table with him; seemed to be greatly concerned for his welfare, and left him the peaceable possession of his kingdom, reserving to himself Pelusium, which was the key of it. For Antiochus assumed this appearance of friendship with no other view than to have the better opportu-

[z] Dan. xi. 40, [a] Ver. 41. [b] Ver. 42.
[c] Ver. 43. [d] In Excerpt. Valez. p. 310. [e] Dan. xi. 24.

nity of ruining him. [f] "They that feed of the portion "of his meat shall destroy him."

Antiochus did not make a long stay in Egypt at that time; the news which was brought of the general revolt of the Jews, obliging him to march against them.

In the mean time, the inhabitants of Alexandria, offended at Philometor for having concluded an alliance with Antiochus, raised Euergetes, his younger brother, to the throne in his stead.

Antiochus, who had advice of what had passed in Alexandria, took this opportunity to return into Egypt, upon pretext of restoring the dethroned monarch, but in reality to make himself absolute master of the kingdom.

ANTIOCHUS'S *third* EXPEDITION *into* EGYPT.

[g] "And both these kings' hearts shall be to do "mischief; and they shall speak lies at one table; "but it shall not prosper: for yet the end shall be at "the time appointed.

[h] "Then shall he (Antiochus) return into his land "with great riches."

Antiochus's third expedition could scarce be pointed out more clearly. That prince, hearing that the Alexandrians had raised Euergetes to the throne, returned to Egypt upon the specious pretence of restoring Philometor: [i] *Per honestam speciem majoris Ptolemæi reducendi in regnum.* After having overcome the Alexandrians in a sea-fight at Pelusium, he laid siege to Alexandria. But finding the inhabitants made a strong opposition, he was contented with making himself again master of the rest of Egypt, in the name of his nephew, in whose behalf he pretended to have drawn the sword: [k] *Cui*

[f] Dan. xi. 26. [g] Ver. 27. [h] Ver. 28. [i] Liv. l. xliv. n. 19. [k] Liv. l. xlv. n. 11. Hieron. in Daniel.

regnum quæri suis viribus simulabat. They were then at Memphis, at the same table, and behaved towards one another with all the outward marks of a sincere friendship. The uncle seemed to have his nephew's interest at heart, and the nephew to repose the highest confidence in his uncle; but all this was mere show and outside, both dissembling their real sentiments. The uncle endeavoured to crush his nephew; [l] *Cui regnum quæri suis viribus simulabat, ut mox victorem aggrederetur;* and the nephew, who saw through this design, *voluntatis ejus non ignarus,* strove immediately to be reconciled to his brother. Thus did neither "prosper" in deceiving of the other: nothing was yet determined, and Antiochus returned into Syria.

ANTIOCHUS's *fourth* EXPEDITION *into* EGYPT.

[m] "At the time appointed he shall return and come "toward the South, but it shall not be as the former, "or as the latter.

[n] "For the ships of Chittim shall come against "him. Therefore he shall be grieved and return, "and have indignation against the holy covenant.",

Advice being brought Antiochus, that the two brothers were reconciled, he threw off the mask, and declared publicly, that he intended to conquer Egypt for himself. And, to support his pretensions, "he returned towards the South," that is, into Egypt, but was not so successful in this expedition as before. [o] As he was advancing forward to besiege Alexandria, Popilius and the other Roman ambassadors, who were on board a fleet composed of Macedonian or Greek ships, (for this the Hebrew word *Chittim* signifies,) which they found at Delos, obliged him to lay down his arms, and leave Egypt. He obeyed; but "was grieved and returned, and

[l] Liv. l. xlv. n. 11. [m] Dan. xi. 29. [n] Ver. 30.
[o] Liv. l. xlv. n. 10.

"had indignation against the holy covenant," and the city and temple of Jerusalem, as will be presently seen.

Had the prophet been eye-witness to this event, would it have been possible for him to point it out in a clearer and more exact manner?

II. Cruel persecutions exercised by Antiochus against the Jews, and foretold by the prophet Daniel.

I have mentioned and explained, in another place, the account which Daniel the prophet gives of Alexander the Great's reign, and those of his four successors.

[p] "Behold a he-goat came from the West, on the "face of the whole earth, and touched not the "ground." Is it possible to denote more plainly the rapidity of Alexander's conquests?—[q] "The he-goat "waxed very great; and when he was strong, the great "horn was broken; and for it came up four notable "ones towards the four winds of heaven." These are Alexander's four successors. [r] "And out of one "of them came forth a little horn, which waxed ex-"ceeding great, toward the South, and toward the "East, and toward the pleasant land." This is Antiochus Epiphanes, who gained several victories towards the South and the East, and who strongly opposed the army of the Lord and the Jewish people, of whom God was the strength and the protector.

The prophet afterwards points out the war which Epiphanes proclaimed against the people of God, the priests of the Lord, his laws and his temple.

[s] "And it waxed great, (the horn,) even to the host "of heaven, and it cast down some of the host, and "of the stars to the ground, and stamped upon

[p] Dan. viii. 5. [q] Ver. 8. [r] Ver. 9. [s] Ver. 10.

"them. [t] Yea, he magnified himself even to the "prince of the host (to GOD): and by him the daily "sacrifice was taken away, and the place of his sanc- "tuary was cast down. [u] And a host was given him "against the daily sacrifice by reason of transgression, "and it cast down the truth to the ground, and it "practised and prospered."

Daniel gives still greater extent to the same prophecy in his eleventh chapter.

[x] "His heart shall be against the holy covenant: "and he shall do exploits.—He shall return, and have "indignation against the holy covenant."

[y] During the siege of Alexandria, a report had prevailed that Antiochus was dead, and the Jews had been accused of expressing great joy at it. He thereupon marched to their city, stormed it, and exercised all the barbarity that his fury could suggest. About forty * thousand men were killed in the compass of three days, and the same number sold as slaves. Antiochus went into the temple, polluted it, and carried off all the vessels, treasures, and rich ornaments.

[z] After Popilius had forced him to leave Egypt, he turned the fury with which he was inflamed upon that occasion against the Jews. He sent Apollonius into Judea, with orders to kill all the men capable of bearing arms, and to sell the women and children. Accordingly, Apollonius made dreadful havoc in Jerusalem, set fire to the city, beat down the walls, and carried the women and children into captivity.

"[a] He shall return, and have intelligence with them "that forsake the holy covenant. And arms shall "stand on his part, and they shall pollute the sanc- "tuary of strength, and shall take away the daily

[t] Dan. viii. ver. 11. [u] Ver. 12. [x] Dan. xi. 28—30.

[y] 1 Maccab. i. 21—24, & 2 Maccab. v. 5—21. Joseph. Lib. de Maccab. &c. [z] 1 Maccab. i. 30—34. & 2 Maccab. v. 24—26.

[a] Dan. xi. 30, 31, 32.

* We are told in the Maccabees, that it was twice this number.

"sacrifice, and they shall set up the abomination that "maketh desolate. And such as do wickedly against "the covenant, shall he corrupt by flatteries."

[b] Antiochus declared openly for all those who should renounce the law. Having published an ordinance, by which all the Jews in general were commanded, upon pain of death, to change their religion, he sent some officers to Jerusalem, ordering them to pollute the temple, and abolish the worship of the Most High. They accordingly dedicated this temple to Jupiter Olympius, and placed his statue in it. They raised in every part of the city profane temples and altars, where they forced the Jews to offer sacrifices, and eat of meats sacrificed to idols. Many, from the dread of the torture, seemed to comply in all things required of them; and even prompted others to imitate their dissimulation in order to countenance their base apostasy.

[c] "And such as do wickedly against the covenant, "shall he (Antiochus) corrupt by flatteries; but the "people that do know their GOD, shall be strong and "do exploits." This manifestly points at old Eleazar, the seven Maccabees, and their mother, and a great number of other Jews, who courageously opposed the impious orders of the king.

[d] "And they that understand among the people, "shall instruct many: yet they shall fall by the "sword, and by flame, by captivity, and by spoil, "many days." This relates chiefly to Mattathias and his sons.

[e] "Now when they shall fall, they shall be holpen "with a little help: but many shall cleave to them "with flatteries." Mattathias and Judas Maccabeus supported the distressed nation, and the almost universally abandoned religion, with so small a number of forces, that we can consider the success which the Almighty gave their arms no otherwise than as a

[b] 1 Maccab. i. 43, &c. 2 Maccab. iv. 7, &c. vi. 1, &c.
[c] Dan. xi. 32. [d] Ver. 33. [e] Ver. 34.

miracle. Their troops grew more numerous by degrees, and afterwards formed a very considerable body.

[f] "And some of them of understanding shall fall, "to try them, and to purge, and to make them white, "even to the time of the end, because it is yet for a "time appointed." The sufferings and death of those who stedfastly refused to obey the king's decree, was their glory and triumph.

[g] "And the king shall do according to his will, "and he shall exalt himself, and magnify himself "above every god, and shall speak marvellous things "against the GOD of gods, and shall prosper till the "indignation (of GOD) be accomplished: for that that "is determined shall be done.

[h] "Neither shall he regard the god of his fathers, "nor the desire of women, nor regard any god: for "he shall magnify himself above all."

Epiphanes ridiculed all religions. He plundered the temples of Greece, and wanted to rob that of Elymais. He exercised his impious fury chiefly against Jerusalem and the Jews, and almost without any resistance. The Almighty seemed to wink for a time at all the abominations which were committed in his temple, till his wrath against his people was satisfied.

[i] "But tidings out of the East, and out of the "North, shall trouble him: therefore he shall go forth "with great fury to destroy, and utterly to make "away many."

Antiochus was troubled when news was brought him, that the provinces of the East, and Artaxias king of Armenia towards the North, were in arms, and going to throw off his yoke.

Tacitus * tells us, that when Antiochus had formed

[f] Dan. xi. 35. [g] Ver. 36. [h] Ver. 37. [i] Ver. 44.

* *Antiochus demere superstitionem et mores Græcorum dare adnixus, quominus teterrimam gentem in melius mutaret, Parthorum bello prohibitus est: nam eâ tempestate Arsaces defecerat.* Tacit. l. v. c. 8.

a resolution to force the Jews to change their religion, and embrace that of the Greeks, the Parthians had revolted from Antiochus. [k] Before he set out for the provinces on the other side of the Euphrates, he gave Lysias, whom he appointed regent of the kingdom in his absence, half his army; commanding him to extirpate all the Jews, and to settle other nations in their country.

[l] "He shall plant the tabernacles of his palace [* in "Apadno] between the seas in the glorious mountain "[of Zabi]; yet he shall come to his end, and none "shall help him." The former part of this verse, which is translated literally from the Hebrew, is very difficult to be explained, because of the two words Apadno and Zabi, which are not to be found in the ancient geography. The reader knows that I do not take upon me to clear up these kind of difficulties. Porphyry, whom we have no reason to suspect, imagined that this verse alluded to Antiochus's expedition beyond the Euphrates, and to his death, which happened on that march. This is the opinion of the greatest part of the interpreters, and therefore we ought to be satisfied with it.

The prophet therefore declares that Antiochus shall pitch his camp near mount Zabi (doubtless the same with Taba,† where, according to [m] Polybius, he died), and that there "he shall come to his end," being abandoned by GOD, and having none to "help him." We have seen how he expired in the most cruel agonies, and struck with an unavailing repentance, which only increased his torments.

Theodoret, St. Jerom, and several interpreters, take all that the prophet Daniel speaks concerning Antiochus Epiphanes in a double sense, as alluding to

[k] 1 Maccab. iii. 31—39. [l] Dan. xi. 45. [m] Polyb. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 145.

* N. B. The words between the crotchets in this verse are not in our English translation of the Bible.

† Taba, according to Polybius, was in Persia; and in Parætacena, according to Quintus Curtius.

Antichrist. It is certain that this prince, who was equally impious and cruel, is one of the most sensible, as well as most expressive, types of that enemy of Christ Jesus and our holy religion.

It is impossible for us, whilst we are reading this prophecy, not to be prodigiously struck when we see the justness and accuracy with which the prophet traces the principal characteristics of a king, whose history is so much blended with that of the Jews; and we perceive evidently, that for this reason the Holy Spirit, either entirely omitting, or taking only a transient notice of the actions of other much more famous princes, dwells so long on those of Antiochus Epiphanes.

With what certainty does Daniel foretel a multitude of events, so very remote, and which depended on so many arbitrary circumstances! How manifestly did the Spirit, which presented futurity to his view, show it him as present, and in as clear a light, as if he had seen it with his bodily eyes! Do not the divine authority of the Scriptures, and by a necessary consequence, the certainty of the Christian religion, become by such proofs, in a manner, palpable and self-evident?

No prophecy was ever fulfilled in so clear, so perfect, and so incontrovertible a manner as this. Porphyry,* the professed enemy of the Christian religion, as well as of the Holy Scriptures both of the Old and New Testament, being infinitely perplexed at finding so great a conformity between the events foretold by Daniel and the relations given by the best historians, did not pretend to deny this conformity, for that would have been repugnant to plain sense, and denying the shining of the sun at noon-day. However, he took another course, in order to undermine the authority of the Scriptures. He himself laboured, by citing all the historians extant at that time, and which are

* Porphyry was a learned heathen, born at Tyre, A. D. 233, and wrote a very voluminous treatise against the Christian religion.

since lost, to show, at great length, that whatever is written in the eleventh chapter of Daniel, happened exactly as foretold by that prophet: and he inferred from this perfect uniformity, that so exact a detail of so great a number of events, could not possibly have been written by Daniel so many years before they happened; and that this work must certainly have been written by some person who lived after Antiochus Epiphanes, and borrowed Daniel's name.

In this contest between the Christians and Heathens, the former would indisputably carry their cause, could they be able to demonstrate, by good proofs, that Daniel's prophecies were really written by him. Now this they proved unanswerably, by citing the testimony of a whole people, I mean the Jews; whose evidence could not be suspected nor disallowed, as they were still greater enemies to the Christian religion than the Heathens themselves. The reverence they had for the sacred writings, of which Providence had appointed them the depositaries and guardians, was carried to such a pitch, that they would have thought him a criminal and sacrilegious wretch who should have attempted only to transpose a single word, or change one letter in them; What idea, then, would they have entertained of that man who should pretend to introduce any supposititious books among them? Such are the witnesses who attested the genuineness of Daniel's prophecies. And were ever proofs so convincing, or cause so victorious? [n] "Thy testimonies are very sure—O "LORD, for ever."

[n] Psal. xciii. 5.

BOOK THE TWENTIETH.

THE HISTORY OF ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS CONTINUED.

This twentieth book contains three articles. In the first, the history of Perseus, the last king of Macedonia, is related. He reigned eleven years, and was dethroned in the year of the world 3836. The second article goes on from the defeat of Perseus to the ruin of Corinth, which was taken and burnt in the year of the world 3858, and includes something more than twenty-one years. The third article contains the history of Syria and that of Egypt, which are generally joined together. That of Syria comprises almost a hundred years from Antiochus Eupator, son of Antiochus Epiphanes, to Antiochus Asiaticus, under whom Syria became part of the Roman empire, that is to say, from the year of the world 3840 to 3939. The history of Egypt includes also one hundred years, from the twentieth year of Ptolemy Philometor, till the expulsion of Ptolemy Auletes; that is, from the year of the world 3845 to the year 3946.

ARTICLE I.

THIS article contains eleven years, being the duration of the reign of Perseus, the last king of Macedonia, from the year of the world 3826 to 3837.

SECT. I. *Perseus prepares secretly for a war against the Romans. He endeavours a reconciliation with the Achæans in vain. His secret measures not unknown at Rome. Eumenes arrives there, and informs the senate of them. Perseus attempts to rid himself of that prince, first by assassination, and afterwards by poison. The Romans break with Perseus. Different opinions and dispositions of the kings and states, in regard to the Macedonian war. After several embassies on both sides, the war is declared in form.*

THE death of Philip[o] happened very opportunely for suspending the war against the Romans, and giving them time to prepare for it. That prince had formed a strange design, and had already begun to put it in execution: this was to bring a considerable body of troops, both horse and foot, from European Sarmatia, which now forms part of Poland. Certain Gauls had settled near the mouths of the Borysthenes, now called the Nieper, and had taken the name of Bastarnæ. That people were neither accustomed to till the earth, to feed cattle, nor to engage in commerce: they lived by war, and sold their services to any people that would employ them. After they had passed the Danube, Philip was to have settled them upon the lands of the Dardanians, whom he had resolved utterly to exterminate; because, being very near neighbours of Macedonia, they never failed to take every favourable occasion for making inroads into it. The Bastarnæ were to leave their wives and children in this new settlement, and to march into Italy, in order to enrich themselves with the booty they were in hopes of making there. Whatever the success might be, Philip conceived he should find great advantages in it: If it should happen that the Bastarnæ were conquered by the Romans, he should easily be consoled for their defeat in seeing himself delivered from his dangerous neighbours, the Dardanians, by their means; A. M. 3826. Ant. J. C. 178.

[o] Liv. l. xl. n. 57, 58. Oros. l. iv. c. 20.

and if their irruption into Italy succeeded, whilst the Romans were employed in repulsing these new enemies, he should have time to recover all he had lost in Greece. The Bastarnæ were already upon their march, and were considerably advanced, when they received advice of Philip's death. This news, and several accidents that befel them, suspended their first design, and they dispersed into different parts. Antigonus, whom Philip intended for his successor, had been employed against his will in negociating this affair. At his return, Perseus put him to death; and to secure himself the better on the throne, sent ambassadors to the Romans, to demand that they would renew with him the alliance they had made with his father, and that the senate would acknowledge him king. His sole intent was to gain time.

A. M. 3829. Ant. J. C. 175. Part of the Bastarnæ[p] had pursued their march, and were actually at war with the Dardanians. The Romans took umbrage at it. Perseus excused himself by his ambassadors, and represented that he had not sent for them, and had no share in their enterprise. The senate, without making any further enquiry into the affair, contented themselves with advising him to take care that he observed inviolably the treaty made with the Romans. The Bastarnæ, after having gained some advantages at first, were at length reduced, the greatest part of them at least, to return into their own country. It is said, that having found the Danube frozen over, in endeavouring to pass it, the ice broke under them, and a great number of them were swallowed up in the river.

A. M. 3830. Ant. J. C. 174. It was known at Rome[q] that Perseus had sent ambassadors to Carthage, and that the senate had given them audience in the night, in the temple of Æsculapius. It was thought proper to send ambassadors into Macedonia to observe the conduct of that prince. He had lately reduced the *Dolopians, who

[p] Freinshem. in Liv. [q] Liv. l. xli. n. 27—29.

* Dolopia was a region of Thessaly, upon the confines of Epirus.

refused to obey him, by force of arms. After that expedition he advanced towards Delphi, upon pretence of consulting the oracle; but in reality, as it was believed, of having an opportunity to make the tour of Greece, and negociate alliances. This journey at first alarmed the whole country, and occasioned so general a consternation, that even Eumenes did not think himself safe in Pergamus. But Perseus, as soon as he had consulted the oracle, returned into his own kingdom, passing through Phthiotis, Achaia, and Thessaly, without committing any hostilities in his march. He afterwards sent either ambassadors or circular letters to all the states through which he had passed, to demand that they would forget such subjects of discontent as they might have had under the reign of his father, which ought to be buried in his grave.

His principal attention was to reconcile himself with the Achæans. Their league, and the city of Athens, had carried their hatred and resentment so high against the Macedonians, as by a decree to prohibit all intercourse with them. This declared enmity gave the slaves, who fled from Achaia, the opportunity of retiring into Macedonia, where they found an assured asylum, and knew they should not be followed or claimed after that general interdiction. Perseus caused all these slaves to be seized, and sent them back to the Achæans, with an obliging letter, in which he exhorted them to take effectual methods for preventing their slaves from making his dominions their place of refuge any longer. This was tacitly demanding the re-establishment of their ancient intercourse. Xenarchus, who was at that time in office, and desirous of making his court to the king, seconded his demand very strongly, and was supported by those who were most solicitous for recovering their slaves.

Callicrates, one of the principal persons of the assembly, who was convinced that the safety of the league consisted in the inviolable observance of the treaty concluded with the Romans, represented, that

a reconciliation with Macedonia was a direct infraction of it, whilst that kingdom was making preparations to declare war against Rome as soon as possible. He concluded that it was necessary to leave things in their present condition, till time should ascertain whether their fears were just or not. That if Macedonia continued in peace with Rome, it would be time enough when that appeared, to re-establish an intercourse with them; without which, a re-union would be precipitate and dangerous.

Acron, Xenarchus's brother, who spoke after Callicrates, did his utmost to prove that such terrors were without foundation; that the question did not relate to the making of a new treaty and alliance with Perseus, and much less to coming to a rupture with the Romans, but solely to reverse a decree, for which the injustice of Philip might have given room, but which Perseus, who had no share in his father's conduct, was undoubtedly far from deserving. That that prince could not but be assured that in case of a war against the Romans, the league would not fail to declare for them. "But (added he) whilst the peace "subsists, if animosities and dissensions are not made "to cease entirely, it is at least reasonable to suspend "them, and to let them sleep for a while."

Nothing was concluded in this assembly. As it was taken amiss that the king had contented himself with only sending them a letter; he afterwards sent ambassadors to the assembly, which had been summoned to Megalopolis. But those who apprehended giving Rome offence, used such effectual means that they were refused audience.

A. M. 3831. Ant. J. C. 173. The ambassadors[r] sent by the senate into Macedonia, reported, at their return, that they could not get access to the king, upon pretence that he was sometimes abroad, and sometimes indisposed; two subterfuges equally false. That for the rest it appeared plainly, that great preparations were making for war, and that it was reasonable to expect it

[r] Liv. l. xlii. n. 2, 5, 6.

would speedily break out. They gave an account also of the state in which they found Ætolia; that it was in great commotion from domestic divisions, which the violence of two contending parties had carried to the utmost excess; and that their authority had not been capable of uniting and appeasing the persons at the head of them.

As Rome expected a war with Macedonia, preparations were made for it by the religious ceremonies, which amongst the Romans always preceded declarations of war; that is to say, by expiation of prodigies, and various sacrifices offered to the gods.

Marcellus was one of the ambassadors whom the senate had sent into Greece. After having appeased to the utmost of his power the troubles of Ætolia, he went into Peloponnesus, where he had caused the assembly of the Achæans to be summoned. He extremely applauded their zeal, in having constantly adhered to the decree, which prohibited all intercourse with the kings of Macedonia. This was an open declaration of what the Romans thought with regard to Perseus.

That prince was incessantly soliciting the Grecian cities, by frequent embassies and magnificent promises, far exceeding his power to perform. They were sufficiently inclined in his favour, and far more than in that of Eumenes, though the latter had rendered great services to most of those cities; and those who formed part of his dominions would not have changed condition with such as were entirely free. There was, however, no comparison between the two princes in point of character and manners. Perseus was utterly infamous for his crimes and cruelties. He was accused of having murdered his wife with his own hands, after the death of his father; of having made away with Apelles, whose aid he had used in destroying his brother; and of having committed many other murders, both within and without his kingdom. On the contrary, Eumenes had rendered himself esteemed by his tenderness for his brothers and re-

lations; by his justice in governing his subjects; and by his generous propensity to do good and to serve others. Notwithstanding this difference of character, they gave Perseus the preference; whether it was that the ancient grandeur of the Macedonian kings inspired them with contempt for a state whose origin was wholly recent, and whose birth they had witnessed; or that the Greeks had some change in view; or because they were pleased with having some support in him to hold the Romans in respect.

Perseus[s] was particularly attentive in cultivating the amity of the Rhodians, and in separating them from the side of Rome. It was from Rhodes that Laodice, the daughter of Seleucus, went to share the Macedonian throne with Perseus, by marrying him. The Rhodians had fitted him out as fine a fleet as could be imagined. Perseus had furnished the materials, and gave gold ribands to every soldier and seaman who came with Laodice. A sentence passed by Rome in favour of the Lycians against the people of Rhodes, had extremely exasperated the latter. Perseus endeavoured to take advantage of their resentment against Rome to attach them to himself.

A. M. 3832. Ant. J. C. 172. The [t]Romans were not ignorant of the measures taken by Perseus to bring over the states of Greece into his views; Eumenes came expressly to Rome to inform them at large of his proceedings. He was received there with all possible marks of distinction. He declared that, besides his desire to pay his homage to the gods and men, to whom he owed an establishment which left him nothing to wish, he had undertaken this voyage expressly to advise the senate in person to be upon their guard against the enterprises of Perseus. That that prince had inherited his father's hatred for the Romans as well as his crown, and omitted no preparations for a war which he believed in a manner fallen to him in right of succession. That the long peace Macedonia had enjoyed supplied him with the means of raising nume-

[s] Polyb. Legat. lx. lxi. [t] Liv. l. xlii. n. 11—14.

rous and formidable troops; that he had a rich and powerful kingdom; that he was himself in the flower of his youth, full of ardour for military expeditions, to which he had been early inured in the sight and under the conduct of his father, and in which he had since much exercised himself, in different enterprises against his neighbours. That he was highly considered by the cities of Greece and Asia, though it was impossible to say by what sort of merit he had acquired that influence, unless it were by his enmity for the Romans. That he was upon as good terms with powerful kings. That he had espoused the daughter of Seleucus, and given his sister in marriage to Prusias. That he had found means to engage the Bœotians in his interest,—a very warlike people, whom his father had never been able to bring over; and that, but for the opposition of a few persons well affected to the Romans, he certainly would have renewed the alliance with the Achæan confederates. That it was to Perseus the Ætolians applied for aid in their domestic troubles, and not to the Romans. That, supported by these powerful allies, he made such preparations for war himself, as put him into a condition to dispense with any foreign aid. That he had thirty thousand foot, five thousand horse, and provisions for ten years. That, besides his immense annual revenues from the mines, he had enough to pay ten thousand foreign troops for a like number of years, without reckoning those of his own kingdom. That he had laid up in his arsenals a sufficient quantity of arms to equip three armies as great as that he had actually on foot; and that, though Macedonia should be incapable of supplying him with troops, Thrace (which was an inexhaustible nursery of soldiers) was at his devotion. Eumenes added, that he advanced nothing upon simple conjecture, but upon the certain knowledge of facts, founded upon the best information. "For the rest," (said he, in concluding,) "having discharged the duty which my regard and "gratitude for the Roman people made indispensa-

" ble, and delivered my conscience, it only remains " for me to implore all the gods and goddesses, that " they would inspire you with sentiments and mea- " sures consistent with the glory of your empire, and " the preservation of your friends and allies, whose " safety depends upon yours."

The senators were much affected with this discourse. Nothing that passed in the senate, except that king Eumenes had spoken, was known abroad, or suffered to take air at first; so inviolably were the deliberations of that august assembly kept secret.

The ambassadors from king Perseus had audience some days after. They found the senate highly prejudiced against their master; and what Harpalus (one of them) said in his speech, inflamed them still more against him. It was, that Perseus desired to be believed upon his own word, when he declared he had neither done nor said any thing that argued an enemy. That, as for the rest, if he discovered that they were obstinately bent upon a rupture with him, he should know how to defend himself with valour. That the fortune and events of war are always hazardous and uncertain.

The cities of Greece and Asia, anxious for the effect which these embassies might produce at Rome, had also sent deputies thither under different pretexts, especially the Rhodians, who suspected that Eumenes had joined them in his accusation against Perseus; and they were not deceived. In an audience granted them, they inveighed violently against Eumenes, reproaching him with having stirred up Lycia against the Rhodians, and of having rendered himself more insupportable to Asia than Antiochus himself. This discourse was very agreeable to the Asiatic people, who secretly favoured Perseus; but very much displeased the senate, and had no other effect than to make them suspect the Rhodians, and hold Eumenes in higher consideration, from this kind of conspiracy which they

saw formed against him. He was dismissed in consequence with the highest honours and great presents.

Harpalus[u] having returned into Macedonia with the utmost diligence, reported to Perseus, that he had left the Romans in a disposition not to defer long a declaration of war against him. The king was not displeased with his account, believing himself in a condition, with the great preparations he had made, to support it with success. He was more particularly glad of a rupture with Eumenes, from whom he suspected that Rome had been apprised of his most secret measures; and began with declaring against him, not by the way of arms, but by that of the most criminal treachery. He dispatched Evander of Crete, the general of his auxiliary forces, with three Macedonians, who had already been employed by him upon like occasions, to assassinate that prince. Perseus knew that he was preparing for a journey to Delphi, and directed his assassins to Praxo, a woman of condition, in whose house he had lodged when he was in that city. They lay in ambush in a defile, so narrow that two men could not pass abreast. When the king came there, the assassins, from the heights where they had posted themselves, rolled two great stones down upon him, one of which fell upon his head, and laid him senseless upon the earth, and the other wounded him considerably in the shoulder; after which they poured a hail of lesser stones upon him. All that were with him fled, except one who stayed to assist him. The assassins, believing the king dead, made off to the top of mount Parnassus. His officers, when they returned, found him without motion, almost without life. When he came a little to himself, he was carried to Corinth, and from thence into the island of Ægina, where great care was taken to cure his wounds, but with so much secrecy that no one was admitted into his chamber; which gave reason to believe him dead. That report spread even

[u] Liv. l. xlii. n. 15—19.

to Asia. Attalus gave credit to it too readily for a good brother; and looking upon himself already as king, was preparing to espouse the widow. Eumenes, at their first interview, could not forbear making him some gentle reproaches upon that head, though he had at first resolved to dissemble his sentiments of his brother's imprudence.

Perseus had attempted at the same time to poison him by the means of Rammius, who had made a voyage into Macedonia. He was a rich citizen of Brundusium, who received in his house all the Roman generals, foreign noblemen, and even princes, who passed through that city. The king put into his hands a very subtle poison, for him to give to Eumenes when he should come to his house. Rammius did not dare to refuse this commission, however great his horror for it, lest the king should make a trial of the draught upon himself; but he set out with a full resolution not to execute it. Having been informed that Valerius was at Chalcis, upon his return from his embassy into Macedonia, he went to him, discovered the whole, and attended him to Rome. Valerius also carried Praxo thither along with him, at whose house the assassins had lodged in Delphi. When the senate had heard these two witnesses, after such black attempts they thought it unnecessary to deliberate longer upon declaring war against a prince who made use of assassinations and poison to rid himself of his enemies, and proceeded to take due measures for the success of so important an enterprise.

Two embassies which arrived at Rome about the same time, gave the senate great pleasure. The first came from Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, the fifth of that name. He sent the son whom he intended for his successor, to Rome, to be educated there, from his earliest infancy, in the principles of the Romans, and to form himself in the great art of reigning, by the conversation and study of their great men; and he desired that the Roman people would take him under their care and tuition. The young prince

was received with all the marks of distinction that could be shown him; and the senate caused a commodious house to be provided for him and his train at the expence of the public. The other embassy was from the Thracians, who desired to be admitted into the alliance and amity of the Romans.

As soon as Eumenes[x] was entirely recovered, he repaired to Pergamus, and applied himself in making preparations for war with uncommon ardour, inflamed more than ever by the new crime of his enemy. The senate sent ambassadors to compliment him upon the extreme danger he had escaped; and dispatched others at the same time to confirm the kings, their allies, in their ancient amity with the Roman people.

They had sent also to Perseus to make their complaints, and to demand satisfaction. These ambassadors, seeing they could not have audience, though many days had elapsed, set out in order to return to Rome. The king caused them to be recalled. They represented that by the treaty concluded with Philip his father, and afterwards renewed with him, it was expressly stipulated, that he should not carry the war out of his own kingdom, nor attack the Roman people. They then enumerated all his infractions of that treaty, and demanded that restitution should be made to the allies of all he had taken from them by force. The king replied only with rage and reproaches, taxing the Romans with their avarice and pride, and the insupportable haughtiness with which they treated kings, to whom they pretended to dictate laws as to their slaves. Upon their demanding a positive answer, he referred them to the next day, as he intended to give it them in writing. The substance of it was, that the treaty concluded with his father did not affect him: that if he had accepted it, it was not because he approved it, but because he could do no otherwise, not being sufficiently established upon the throne: that if the Romans were

[x] Liv. xlii. n. 25—27.

willing to enter into a new treaty, and would propose reasonable conditions, he should consider what it was necessary for him to do. The king, after having delivered this writing, withdrew abruptly; and the ambassadors declared that the Roman people renounced his alliance and amity. The king returned in great wrath, and told them in a menacing tone, that they were to take care to quit his kingdom in three days. At their return to Rome, they reported the result of their embassy; and added, that they had observed, in all the cities of Macedonia through which they passed, that great preparations were making for war.

The ambassadors that had been sent to the kings in alliance with the Romans, reported that they found Eumenes in Asia, Antiochus in Syria, and Ptolemy in Egypt, well inclined to the Roman people, and ready to do every thing that should be desired of them. The senate would not grant audience to the ambassadors of Gentius, king of Illyria, who was accused of holding intelligence with Perseus; and deferred hearing those from the Rhodians, who had also rendered themselves suspected, till the new consuls entered upon their office. However, not to lose time, orders were given for fitting out a fleet of fifty galleys, to sail as soon as possible for Macedonia, which was executed without delay.

A. M. 3833. Ant. J. C. 171. P. Licinius Crassus and C. Cassius Longinus were elected consuls, and Macedonia fell by lot to Licinius.

Not only Rome and Italy, but all the kings and cities, as well of Europe as Asia, had their eyes fixed upon the two great powers on the point of entering into a war.

Eumenes was animated by an ancient hatred against Perseus, and still more by the new crime, which had almost cost him his life in his journey to Delphi.

Prusias, king of Bithynia, had resolved to stand neuter, and wait the event. He flattered himself

that the Romans would not insist upon his taking up arms against his wife's brother; and hoped that, if Perseus were victorious, that prince would easily acquiesce in his neutrality at the request of his sister.

Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, besides having promised to aid the Romans, inviolably adhered, either in war or peace, to the party which Eumenes espoused, after having contracted an affinity with him, by giving him his daughter in marriage.

Antiochus had formed a design to possess himself of Egypt, relying upon the weakness of the king's youth, and the indolence and cowardice of those who had the care of his person and affairs. He imagined that he had found a plausible pretext for making war upon that prince, by disputing Cœle-syria with him; and that the Romans, employed in the war with Macedonia, would not obstruct his ambitious designs. He had, however, declared to the senate by his ambassadors, that they might dispose of all his forces, and had repeated the same promise to the ambassadors whom the Romans had sent to him.

Ptolemy, through his tender age, was incapable of resolving for himself. His guardians were making preparations for the war with Antiochus, in defence of Cœle-syria, and promised to contribute every thing in their power to aid the Romans in the Macedonian war.

Masinissa supplied the Romans with corn, troops, and elephants, and intended to send his son Misagenes to join them. His plan and political motives were the effect of his desire to possess himself of the Carthaginian territories. If the Romans conquered, he conceived it impossible to execute that project, because they would never suffer him to ruin the Carthaginians entirely; in which case he should continue in his present condition. If, on the contrary, the Roman power, which alone, out of policy, prevented him from extending his conquests, and

at that time supported Carthage, should happen to be reduced, he expected, in consequence, to make himself master of all Africa.

Gentius, king of Illyria, had only rendered himself much suspected by the Romans, without knowing, however, which party he should choose; and it seemed, that if he adhered to either, it would be rather out of caprice and by chance, than from any fixed plan or regular project.

As for Cotys of Thrace, king of the Odrysæ, he had declared openly for the Macedonians.

Such was the disposition of the kings with regard to the Macedonian war. As for the states and free cities, the populace were universally inclined in favour of Perseus and the Macedonians. The opinions of the persons in authority amongst those states and cities were divided into three classes. Some of them abandoned themselves so abjectly to the Romans, that by their blind devotion to them they lost all credit and authority among their citizens; and of these, few concerned themselves about the justice of the Roman government; most of them having no views but to their private interest, convinced that their influence in their cities would prevail in proportion to the services they should render the Romans. The second class was of those who gave entirely into the king's measures; some, because their debts and the bad state of their affairs made them desire a change; others, because the pomp that reigns in the courts of kings, upon which Perseus valued himself, agreed best with their own pride and vanity. A third class, which were the most prudent and judicious, if it were absolutely necessary to take either part, would have preferred the Romans' to the king's; but had it been left to their choice, they would have been best satisfied that neither of the parties should become too powerful by reducing the other; but, preserving a kind of equality and balance, should always continue in peace; because then one of them, by taking the weaker states under

its protection, whenever the other should attempt to oppress them, would render the condition of them all more happy and secure. In this kind of indeterminate neutrality they saw, as from a place of safety, the battles and dangers of those who had engaged either in one party or the other.

The Romans, after having according to their laudable custom discharged all the duties of religion, offered solemn prayers and sacrifices to the gods, and made vows for the happy success of the enterprise for which they had been so long preparing, declared war in form against Perseus, king of Macedonia, except he made immediate satisfaction in regard to the several grievances already more than once explained to him.

At the same time arrived ambassadors from him, who said that the king their master was much amazed at their having made troops enter Macedonia, and that he was ready to give the senate all the satisfaction that could be required. As it was known that Perseus sought only to gain time, they were answered, that the consul Licinius would be soon in Macedonia, with his army; and that if the king desired peace in earnest, he might send his ambassadors to him, but that he need not give himself the trouble of sending any more into Italy, where they would not be received; and for themselves, they were ordered to quit it in twelve days.

The Romans[y] omitted nothing that might contribute to the success of their arms. They dispatched ambassadors on all sides to their allies, to animate and confirm those who persisted to adhere to them, to determine such as were fluctuating and uncertain, and to intimidate those who appeared inclined to break with them.

Whilst they were at Larissa, in Thessaly, ambassadors arrived there from Perseus, who had orders

[y] Liv. l. xlii. n. 37, 44. Polyb. Legat. lxiii.

to address themselves to Marcius, one of the Roman ambassadors, to remind him of the ancient ties of friendship his father had contracted with king Philip, and to demand an interview between him and their master. Marcius answered, that his father had often spoken of king Philip's friendship and hospitality; and appointed a place near the river Peneus for the interview. They went thither some days after. The king had a great train, and was surrounded with a crowd of great lords and guards. The ambassadors were no less attended; many of the citizens of Larissa, and of the deputies from other states, who had repaired thither, making it a duty to go with them, well pleased with that occasion of carrying home what they should see and hear. They had besides a curiosity to be present at an interview between a great king and the ambassadors of the most powerful people in the world.

After some difficulties which arose about the ceremonial, and which were soon removed in favour of the Romans, who had the precedency, they began to confer. Their meeting was highly respectful on both sides. They did not treat each other like enemies, but rather as friends, bound by the sacred ties of hospitality. Marcius, who spoke first, began by excusing himself for the unhappy necessity he was under of reproaching a prince for whom he had the highest consideration. He afterwards expatiated upon all the causes of complaint the Roman people had against him, and his various infractions of treaties with them. He insisted very much on his attempt upon Eumenes, and concluded with professing, that he should be very glad the king would supply him with good reasons for his conduct, and thereby enable him to plead his cause, and justify him before the senate.

Perseus, after having touched lightly upon the affair of Eumenes, which he seemed astonished that any one should presume to impute to him without

any proof, rather than to so many others of that prince's enemies, entered into a long detail, and replied, as well as he was able, to the several heads of the accusation against him. "Of this I am* assured," said he, in concluding, "that my conscience does "not reproach me with having committed any fault "knowingly, and with premeditated design, against "the Romans; and if I have done any thing un- "warily, apprised as I now am, it is in my power to "amend it. I have certainly done nothing to de- "serve the implacable enmity with which I am pur- "sued, as if I had been guilty of the blackest and "most enormous crimes, which were neither to be "expiated nor forgiven. It must be without foun- "dation, that the clemency and wisdom of the Ro- "man people are universally extolled, if for such "slight causes as scarce merit complaint and re- "monstrance, they take up arms and make war upon "kings in alliance with them."

The result of this conference was, that Perseus should send new ambassadors to Rome, in order to try all possible means to prevent a rupture and open war. This was a snare laid by the artful commissioner for the king's inadvertency, in order to gain time. He feigned at first great difficulties in complying with the truce demanded by Perseus, for time to send his ambassadors to Rome, and seemed at last to accede to it only out of consideration for the king. The true reason was, because the Romans had not yet either troops or general in a condition to act; whereas on the side of Perseus every thing was ready; and if he had not been amused by the vain hope of a peace, he might have taken the ad-

* *Conscius mihi sum, nihil me scientem deliquisse; et si quid fecerim imprudentiâ lapsus, corrigi me et emendari castigatione hâc posse. Nihil certè insanabile, nec quod bello et armis persequendum esse censeatis, commisi: aut frustrà clementiæ gravitatisque vestræ fama vulgata per gentes est, si talibus de causis, quæ vix querelâ et expostulatione dignæ sunt, arma capitis, et regibus sociis bella inferatis.* Liv.

vantage of a conjuncture so favourable for himself, and so contrary to his enemies, to have entered upon action.

After this interview the Roman ambassadors advanced into Bœotia, where there had been great commotions; some declaring for Perseus, and others for the Romans; but at length the latter party prevailed. The Thebans, and the other people of Bœotia, by their example, made an alliance with the Romans; each by their own deputies, and not by the consent of the whole body of the nation according to ancient custom In this manner the Bœotians, from having rashly engaged in the party of Perseus, after having formed, through a long course of time, a republic which on several occasions had preserved itself from the greatest dangers, saw themselves separated and governed by as many councils as there were cities in the province; all of which in the sequel remained independent of each other; and formed no longer one united league as at first. And this was an effect of the Roman policy, which divided them, to make them weak; well knowing that it was much easier to bring them into their measures, and subject them by that means, than if they were still all united together. No other cities in Bœotia, except Coronæa and Haliartus, persisted in the alliance with Perseus.

From Bœotia the commissioners went into Peloponnesus. The assembly of the Achæan league was summoned to Argos. They demanded only a thousand men, to garrison Chalcis, till the Roman army should enter Greece: which troops were ordered thither immediately. Marcius and Atilius, having terminated the affairs of Greece, returned to Rome in the beginning of the winter.

About the same time Rome sent [z] new commissioners into the most considerable islands of Asia, to exhort them to send powerful aid into the field

[z] Div. l. xlii. n. 45, 48. Polyb. Legat. lxiv.—lxviii.

against Perseus. The Rhodians signalized themselves upon this occasion. Hegesilochus, who was at that time Prytanis (the principal magistrate was so called), had prepared the people, by representing to them that it was necessary to efface by actions, and not by words only, the bad impressions with which Eumenes had endeavoured to inspire the Romans in regard to their fidelity. So that upon the arrival of the ambassadors, they showed them a fleet of forty ships, entirely equipped, and ready to sail upon the first orders. This agreeable surprise was highly pleasing to the Romans, who returned from thence exceedingly satisfied with so conspicuous a zeal, which had even anticipated their demands.

Perseus, in consequence of his interview with Marcius, sent ambassadors to Rome to treat there upon what had been proposed in that conference. He dispatched other ambassadors with letters for Rhodes and Byzantium, in which he explained what had passed in the interview, and deduced at large the reasons upon which his conduct was founded. He exhorted the Rhodians in particular to remain quiet, and to wait as mere spectators till they saw what resolutions the Romans would take. "If, "contrary to the treaties subsisting between us, "they attack me, you will be (said he) the me- "diators between the two nations. All the world "is interested in their continuing to live in peace, "but it behoves none more than you to endeavour "to reconcile them. Defenders not only of your "own, but of the liberty of all Greece, the more zeal "and ardour you have for so great a good, the "more ought you to be upon your guard against "every one who should attempt to inspire you with "different sentiments. *You cannot but know,

* *Cùm cæterorum id interesse, tum præcipuè Rhodiorum, quo plus inter alias civitates dignitate atque opibus excellant, quæ serva atque obnoxia fore, si nullus aliâ sit quàm ad Romanos respectus.* Liv.

"that the certain means to reduce Greece into "slavery, is to make it dependent upon one peo- "ple only, without leaving it any other to have re- "course to." The ambassadors were received with great respect; but were answered, that, in case of war, the king was desired not to rely upon the Rhodians, nor to demand any thing of them to the prejudice of the alliance they had made with the Romans. The same ambassadors went also into Bœotia, where they had almost as little reason to be satisfied; only a few small [a] cities separating from the Thebans to embrace the king's party.

Marcius and Atilius at their return to Rome reported to the senate the success of their commission. They dwelt particularly upon their address, in their stratagem to deceive Perseus, by granting him a truce, which prevented him from beginning the war immediately with advantage, as he might have done, and gave the Romans time to complete their preparations, and to take the field. They did not forget their dexterity in dissolving the general assembly of the Bœotians, to prevent their uniting with Macedonia by common consent.

The greatest part of the senate expressed much satisfaction in so wise a conduct, which argued profound policy and uncommon dexterity in negociation. But the old senators, who had imbibed other principles, and persevered in their ancient maxims, said, they did not recognize the Roman character in such dealing: that their ancestors, relying more upon true valour than stratagem, used to make war openly, and not in disguise and under cover; that such unworthy artifices should be abandoned to the Carthaginians and Grecians, with whom it was reckoned more glorious to deceive an enemy, than to conquer him with open force: that indeed stratagem sometimes, in the moment of action, seemed to succeed better than valour; but that a victory, obtained vigor-

[a] Coronæa and Haliartus.

ously in a battle, where the force of the troops on each side was closely tried, and which the enemy could not ascribe either to chance or cunning, was of a much more lasting effect, because it left a strong conviction of the victor's superior force and bravery.

Notwithstanding these remonstrances of the elder senators, who could not relish these new maxims of policy, that part of the senate which preferred the useful to the honourable were much the majority upon this occasion, and the conduct of the two commissioners was approved. Marcius was sent again with some galleys into Greece, to regulate affairs as he should think most consistent with the service of the public; and Atilius into Thessaly, to take possession of Larissa, lest, upon the expiration of the truce, Perseus should make himself master of that important place, the capital of the country. Lentulus was also sent to Thebes, to have an eye upon Bœotia.

Though the war with Perseus was resolved at Rome, the senate gave audience to his ambassadors. They repeated the same things which had been said in the interview with Marcius, and endeavoured to justify their master, principally upon the attempt he was accused of having made on the person of Eumenes. They were heard with little or no attention, and the senate ordered them and all the Macedonians at Rome to quit the city immediately, and Italy in thirty days. The consul Licinius, who was to command in Macedonia, had orders to march as soon as possible with his army. The prætor Lucretius, who had the command of the fleet, set out with five and forty galleys from Naples, and arrived in five days at Cephalonia, where he waited for the arrival of the land forces.

SECT. II. *The consul Licinius and king Perseus take the field. They both encamp near the river Peneus, at some distance from each other. Engagement of the cavalry, in which Perseus has considerably the advantage, and makes an ill use of it. He endeavours to make a peace, but ineffectually. The armies on both sides go into winter quarters.*

A. M. 3833. Ant. J. C. 171. THE consul Licinius, after having offered his vows to the gods in the Capitol, set out from Rome, covered with a coat of arms, according to the custom. The departure of the consuls, [a] says Livy, was always attended with great solemnity and an incredible concourse of the people, especially upon an important war, and against a powerful enemy. Besides the interest which every individual might have in the glory of the consul, the citizens were induced to throng about him, out of a curiosity to see the general, to whose prudence and valour the fate of the republic was confided. A thousand anxious thoughts presented themselves at that time to their minds upon the events of the war, which are always precarious and uncertain. They remembered the defeats which had happened through the bad conduct and temerity, and the victories for which they were indebted to the wisdom and courage, of their generals. "What mortal "(said they) can know the fate of a consul at his de- "parture: whether we shall see him with his vic- "torious army return in triumph to the Capitol, from "whence he sets out, after having offered up his "prayers to the gods; or whether the enemy may not "rejoice in his overthrow?" The ancient glory of the Macedonians; that of Philip who had made himself famous by his wars, and particularly by that against the Romans, added very much to the reputation of Perseus; and every body knew, that from the time of

[a] Liv. lib. xlii. n. 49—63.

his accession to the crown a war had been expected from him. Full of such thoughts, the citizens in crowds conducted the consul out of the city. C. Claudius and Q. Multius, who had both been consuls, did not think it below them to serve in his army in quality of military tribunes (or, as we may now say, as colonels or brigadiers), and went with him; as did P. Lentulus and the two Manlii Acidini. The consul repaired in their company to Brundusium, which was the rendezvous of the army; and passing the sea with all his troops, arrived at Nymphæum, in the country of the Apollonians.

Perseus, some days before, upon the report of his ambassadors who had returned from Rome, and assured him that there remained no hope of peace, held a great council, in which opinions were different. Some thought it necessary for him either to pay tribute, if required, or give up a part of his dominions, if the Romans insisted upon it; in a word, to suffer every thing that could be endured, for the sake of peace, rather than expose his person and kingdom to the danger of entire destruction. That if a part of his kingdom was left him, time and chance might produce favourable conjunctures, to put him in a condition not only to recover all he had lost, but even to render him formidable to those who at present made Macedonia tremble.

The greater number were of a quite different opinion. They insisted, that by making cession of any part he must determine to lose all his kingdom. That it was neither money nor lands that incited the ambition of the Romans, but universal empire. That they knew the greatest kingdoms and most powerful empires were subject to frequent revolutions. That they had humbled, or rather ruined Carthage, without taking possession of its territories; contenting themselves with keeping it in awe by the neighbourhood of Masinissa. That they had driven Antiochus and his son beyond mount Taurus. That there was no kingdom but Macedonia that was capable of giving

umbrage to, or making head against, the Romans. That prudence required Perseus, whilst he was still master of it, seriously to consider with himself, whether by making the Romans sometimes one concession, and sometimes another, he was resolved to see himself deprived of all power, expelled from his dominions, and obliged to ask as a favour of the Romans, permission to retire and confine himself in Samothracia, or some other island, there to pass the rest of his days in contempt and misery, with the mortification of surviving his glory and empire; or whether he would prefer to hazard all the dangers of the war, armed as became a man of courage in defence of his fortunes and dignity; and, in case of being victorious, have the glory of delivering the universe from the Roman yoke. That it would be no more a wonder to drive the Romans out of Greece, than it had been to drive Hannibal out of Italy. Besides, was it consistent for Perseus, after having opposed his brother with all his efforts, when he attempted to usurp his crown, to resign it merely to strangers that endeavoured to wrest it out of his hands? That, in fine, all the world agreed, that there was nothing more inglorious than to give up empire without resistance, nor more laudable than to have used all possible endeavours to preserve it.

This council was held at Pella, the ancient capital of Macedonia. "Since you think it so neces-"sary," said the king, "let us make war then with "the help of the gods." He gave orders at the same time to his generals to assemble all their troops at Citium, whither he went soon after himself, with all the lords of his court and his regiments of guards, after having offered a sacrifice of a hecatomb, or a hundred oxen, to Minerva Alcidema. He found the whole army assembled there. It amounted, including the foreign troops, to thirty-nine thousand foot, of whom almost half composed the phalanx, and four thousand horse. It was agreed that since the army Alexander the Great led

into Asia, no king of Macedonia had commanded one so numerous.

It was twenty-six years since Philip had made peace with the Romans; and as during all that time Macedonia had remained in tranquillity, and without any considerable war, there were in it great numbers of youth capable of bearing arms, who had already begun to exercise and form themselves in the wars which Macedonia had supported against the Thracians their neighbours. Philip besides, and Perseus after him, had long formed the design of undertaking a war with the Romans. Hence it was that at the time we speak of every thing was ready for beginning it.

Perseus, before he took the field, thought it necessary to harangue his troops. He mounted his throne, therefore, and from thence, having his two sons on each side of him, spoke to them with great energy. He began with a long recital of all the injuries the Romans had committed with regard to his father, which had induced him to resolve to take up arms against them; but that a sudden death had prevented him from putting that design in execution. He added, that presently after the death of Philip, the Romans had sent ambassadors to him, and at the same time had marched troops into Greece to take possession of the strongest places: that afterwards, in order to gain time, they had amused him during all the winter with deceitful interviews and a pretended truce, under the specious pretext of negociating a reconciliation. He compared the consul's army, which was actually on it's march, with that of the Macedonians; which, in his opinion, was much superior to the other, both in the number and valour of their troops, as well as in ammunition and provisions of war, collected with infinite care during a great number of years. "You "have therefore, Macedonians," said he, in concluding, "only to display the same courage which "your ancestors showed, when having triumphed over "all Europe, they crossed into Asia, and set no other

" bounds to their conquests, than those of the uni-
" verse. You are not now to carry your arms to the
" extremities of the East, but to defend yourselves
" in the possession of the kingdom of Macedonia.
" When the Romans attacked my father, they covered
" that unjust war with the specious pretence of re-
" establishing the ancient liberty of Greece; the pre-
" sent they undertake without any disguise, to reduce
" and enslave Macedonia. That haughty people can-
" not bear that the Roman empire should have any
" king for its neighbour, nor that any warlike nation
" should have arms for their defence. For you may
" be assured, if you refuse to make war, and will
" submit to the orders of those insulting masters,
" that you must resolve to deliver up your arms with
" your king and his kingdom to them."

At these words the whole army, which had expressed only moderate applause for the rest of his discourse, raised cries of anger and indignation, exhorting the king to entertain the best hopes, and demanding earnestly to be led against the enemy.

Perseus then gave audience to the ambassadors from the cities of Macedonia, who came to offer him money and provisions for the occasions of the army; each according to their power. The king thanked them in the kindest manner, but did not accept their offers; giving for his reason, that the army was abundantly provided with all things necessary. He only demanded carriages to convey the battering-rams, catapultæ, and other military engines.

The two armies were now in motion. That of the Macedonians, after some days' march, arrived at Sycurium, a city situated at the foot of mount Oeta; the consul's was at Gomphi in Thessaly, after having surmounted the most incredible difficulties in ways and defiles almost impassable. The Romans themselves confessed, that had the enemy defended those passes, they might easily have destroyed their whole army in them. The consul advanced within three

miles of the country called Tripolis, and encamped upon the banks of the river Peneus.

At the same time Eumenes arrived at Chalcis, with his brothers Attalus and Athenæus: Philetærus, the fourth, was left at Pergamus, for the defence of the country. Eumenes and Attalus joined the consul with four thousand foot and a thousand horse. They had left Athenæus with two thousand foot at Chalcis, to reinforce the garrison of that important place. The allies sent also other troops, though not in any considerable number, and some galleys. Perseus, in the mean time, sent out several detachments to ravage the neighbouring country of Pheræ, in hopes that if the consul should quit his camp, and march to the aid of the cities in his alliance, that he might surprise and attack him to advantage; but he was disappointed, and obliged to content himself with distributing the booty he had made amongst his soldiers, which was very considerable, and consisted principally in cattle of all sorts.

The consul and king held each of them a council at the same time, in order to resolve in what manner to begin the war. The king, highly proud of having been suffered to ravage the territories of the Pheræans without opposition, thought it adviseable to go and attack the Romans in their camp without loss of time. The Romans were very sensible, that their slowness and delays would discredit them very much in the opinion of their allies, and reproached themselves with not having defended the people of Pheræ. Whilst they were consulting upon the measures it was necessary to take, (Eumenes and Attalus being present,) a courier came in upon the spur, and informed them that the enemy were very near with a numerous army. The signal was immediately given for the soldiers to stand to their arms, and a hundred horse were detached, with as many of the light-armed foot, to take a view of the enemy. Perseus, at ten in the morning, finding himself no farther from the Roman camp than a short half league, made his foot halt, and advanced

with his horse and light-armed soldiers. He had scarce marched a quarter of a league, when he perceived a body of the enemy, against which he sent a small detachment of horse, supported by some light-armed troops. As the two detachments were very near equal in number, and neither side sent any fresh troops to their aid, the skirmish ended without its being possible to say which side was victorious. Perseus marched back his troops to Sycurium.

The next day, at the same hour, Perseus advanced with all his troops to the same place. They were followed by carts laden with water, for there was none to be found within six leagues of the place; the way was very dusty, and the troops might have been obliged to fight immediately, fatigued as they were with thirst, which would have incommoded them exceedingly. The Romans keeping close in their camp, and having withdrawn their advanced guards within their entrenchments, the king's troops returned to their camp. They did the same several days, in hopes the Romans would not fail to detach their cavalry to attack their rear-guard, and when they had drawn them on far enough from their camp, and the battle was begun, that they might face about. As the king's horse and light-armed foot were very much superior to those of the Romans, they assured themselves of having no difficulty in defeating them.

This first design not succeeding, the king encamped nearer the enemy, within little more than two leagues of them. At break of day, having drawn up his infantry in the same place as he had done the two preceding days, about a thousand paces from the enemy, he advanced at the head of his cavalry and light-armed foot towards the camp of the Romans. The sight of the dust, which flew nearer than usual, and seemed to be raised by a greater number of troops, gave them the alarm, and the first who brought the news, could scarcely persuade them that the enemy was so near, because for several days before they had not appeared till ten in the morning, and the sun at

that time was just rising. But when it was confirmed by the cries of many, who ran in crowds from the gates, there was no longer any room to doubt it, and the camp was in very great confusion. All the officers repaired with the utmost haste to the general's tent, as the soldiers did each to his own. The negligence of the consul, so ill informed in the motions of an enemy, whose nearness to him ought to have kept him perpetually upon his guard, gives us no great idea of his ability.

Perseus had drawn up his troops at less than five hundred paces from the consul's entrenchments. Cotys, king of the Odrysæ in Thrace, commanded the left, with the horse of his nation; the light-armed troops were distributed in the intervals of the front rank. The Macedonian and Cretan horse formed the right wing. At the extremity of each wing, the king's horse and those of the auxiliaries were posted. The king kept the centre with the horse that always attended his person; before whom were placed the slingers and archers, about four hundred in number.

The consul having drawn up his foot in battle array within his camp, detached only his cavalry and light-armed troops, who had orders to form a line in the front of his entrenchments. The right wing, which consisted of all the Italian horse, was commanded by C. Licinius Crassus, the consul's brother; the left, composed of the horse of the Grecian allies, by M. Valerius Levinus; both intermingled with the light-armed troops. Q. Mucius was posted in the centre with a select body of horse; and two hundred of the Gaulish cavalry, and three hundred of Eumenes's troops, were drawn up in his front. Four hundred Thessalian horse were placed a little beyond the left wing, as a body of reserve. King Eumenes and his brother Attalus, with their troops, were posted in the space between the entrenchments and the rear ranks.

This was only an engagement of cavalry, which in number was almost equal on both sides, and might

amount to about four thousand on each, without including the light-armed troops. The action began by the slings and missive weapons, which were posted in front, but that was only the prelude. The Thracians, like wild beasts long pent up, and thereby rendered more furious, threw themselves first upon the right wing of the Romans, who, perfectly brave and intrepid as they were, could not support so rude and violent a charge. The light-armed foot, whom the Thracians had amongst them, beat down the lances of the enemy with their swords, sometimes cutting the legs of the horses, and sometimes wounding them in their flanks. Perseus, who attacked the centre of the enemy, soon put the Greeks into disorder; and as they were vigorously pursued in their flight, the Thessalian horse, which, at a small distance from the left wing, formed a body of reserve, and in the beginning of the action had been only spectators of the battle, were of great service when that wing gave way. For those horse retiring gently and in good order, after having joined the auxiliary troops of Eumenes, gave a safe retreat between their ranks to those who fled and were dispersed; and when they saw the enemy was not warm in their pursuit, were so bold as to advance to sustain and encourage their own party. As this body of horse marched in good order, and always kept their ranks, the king's cavalry, who had broke in the pursuit, did not dare to wait their approach, nor to come to blows with them.

Hippias and Leonatus having learnt the advantage gained by the cavalry, that the king might not lose so favourable an opportunity of completing the glory of the day, by vigorously pushing the enemy, and charging them in their entrenchments, brought on the Macedonian phalanx of their own accord, and without orders. It appeared, indeed, that had the king made the least effort, he might have rendered his victory complete; and in the present ardour of his troops, and terror into which they had thrown the Romans, the latter must have been entirely defeated.

Whilst he was deliberating with himself between hope and fear, upon what he should resolve, Evander * of Crete, in whom he reposed great confidence, upon seeing the phalanx advance, ran immediately to Perseus, and earnestly begged of him not to abandon himself to his present success, nor engage rashly in a new action that was not necessary, and wherein he hazarded every thing. He represented to him, that if he continued quiet, and contented himself with the present advantage, he would either obtain honourable conditions of peace, or, if he should choose to continue the war, this first success would infallibly determine those, who till then had remained neuter, to declare in his favour. The king was already inclined to follow that opinion; wherefore, having praised the counsel and zeal of Evander, he caused the retreat to be sounded for his horse, and ordered his foot to return into the camp.

The Romans lost two thousand of their light-armed infantry at least in this battle; and had two hundred of their horse killed, and as many taken prisoners, On the other side, only twenty of their cavalry and forty foot soldiers were left upon the field. The victors returned into their camp with great joy, especially the Thracians, who, with songs of triumph, carried the heads of those they had killed upon the end of their pikes :—it was to them that Perseus was principally indebted for his victory. The Romans, on the contrary, in profound sorrow, kept a mournful silence, and, filled with terror, expected every moment that the enemy would come and attack them in their camp. Eumenes was of opinion, that it was proper to remove the camp to the other side of the Peneus, in order that the river might serve as an additional fortification for the troops, till they had recovered their panic. The consul was averse to taking that step, which, as an open profession of fear, was

* Perseus made use of him in the intended assassination of Eumenes.

highly dishonourable to himself and his army: but, however, being convinced by reason, and yielding to necessity, he passed with his troops under cover of the night, and encamped on the other bank of the river.

Perseus advanced the next day to attack the enemy, and to give them battle; but it was then too late; he found their camp abandoned. When he saw them entrenched on the other side of the river, he perceived the enormous error he had committed the day before, in not pursuing them immediately upon their defeat; but he confessed it a still greater fault to have continued quiet and inactive during the night. For without putting the rest of his army in motion, if he had only detached his light-armed troops against the enemy during their confusion and disorder in passing the river, he might, without difficulty, have cut off at least part of their army.

We see here, in a sensible example, to what causes revolutions of states, and the fall of the greatest empires, owe their being. There is no reader but must have been surprised at seeing Perseus stop short in a decisive moment, and let slip an almost certain occasion of defeating his enemy: it requires no great capacity nor penetration to discern so gross a fault. But how came it to pass, that Perseus, who wanted neither judgment nor experience, should be so much mistaken? A notion is suggested to him by a man he confides in. It is weak, rash, and absurd. But GOD, who rules the heart of man, and who wills the destruction of the kingdom of Macedonia, suffers no other notion to prevail in the king's breast, and removes every thought which might, and naturally ought to have induced him to take quite different measures. Nor is that sufficient. The first fault might have been easily retrieved by a little vigilance during the night. GOD seems to have laid that prince and his army in a profound sleep. Not one of his officers has the least thought of observing the motions of the enemy in the night. We see nothing but what is natural in all this: but the Holy Scripture teaches

us to think otherwise; and we may well apply to this event what was said of Saul's soldiers and officers: "And no man saw it, nor knew it, neither awaked: "for they were all asleep, because a deep sleep from "the LORD was fallen upon them." 1 Sam. xxvi. 12.

The Romans, indeed, having put the river between them and the enemy, saw themselves no longer in danger of being suddenly attacked and routed; but the check they had lately received, and the wound they had given the glory of the Roman name, made them feel the sharpest affliction. All who were present in the council of war assembled by the consul, laid the fault upon the Ætolians. It was said, that they were the first who took the alarm and fled; that the rest of the Greeks had been drawn away by their example, and that five of the chief of their nation were the first who took to flight. The Thessalians, on the contrary, were praised for their valour, and their leaders rewarded with several marks of honour.

The spoils taken from the Romans were not inconsiderable. They amounted to fifteen hundred bucklers, a thousand cuirasses, and a much greater number of helmets, swords, and darts of all kinds. The king made great presents of them to the officers who had distinguished themselves most; and having assembled the army, he began by telling them, that what had happened was a happy presage for them, and a certain pledge of what they might hope for the future. He made great encomiums upon the troops who had been in the action; and in magnificent terms expatiated upon their victory over the Roman horse, in which the principal force of their army consisted, and which they had before believed invincible; and promised himself from thence a more considerable success over their infantry, who had only escaped their swords by a shameful flight during the night; but that it would be easy to force the intrenchments in which their fear kept them shut up. The victorious soldiers, who carried the spoils of the enemies they had slain upon their shoulders, heard this dis-

course with sensible pleasure, and promised themselves every thing from their valour, judging of the future by the past. The foot, on their side, especially that which composed the Macedonian phalanx, stimulated by a laudable jealousy, pretended at least to equal, if not to excel, the glory of their companions upon the first occasion. In a word, the whole army demanded, with incredible ardour, only to come to blows with the enemy. The king, after having dismissed the assembly, set forward the next day, passed the river, and encamped at Mopsium, an eminence situate between Tempe and Larissa.

The joy for the good success of so important a battle affected Perseus, at first, in all its extent. He looked upon himself as superior to a people, who themselves were so with respect to all other princes and nations. This was not a victory gained by surprise, and in a manner stolen by stratagem and address, but carried by open force, and the valour and bravery of his troops, and that in his own sight, and under his own conduct. He had seen the Roman haughtiness give way before him three times in one day: at first, in keeping close through fear in their camp; then, when they ventured out of it, shamefully betaking themselves to flight; and, lastly, by flying again, during the obscurity of the night, and in finding no other security than by being enclosed within their entrenchments, the usual refuge of terror and apprehension. These thoughts were highly soothing, and capable of deceiving a prince, already too much affected with his own merit.

But when his first transports were a little abated, and the inebriating fume of sudden joy was somewhat evaporated, Perseus came to himself; and reflecting in cool blood upon all the consequences which might attend his victory, he began to be in some sort of terror. The wisest of the courtiers about him, [b] taking advantage of so happy a disposition, ventured to

[b] Polyb. Legat. lxix.

give him the advice which his present temper made him capable of appreciating; this was, to make the best of his late success, and conclude an honourable peace with the Romans. They represented to him, that the most certain mark of a prudent and really happy prince, was not to rely too much upon the present favours of fortune, nor abandon himself to the delusive glitter of prosperity. That, therefore, he would do well to send to the consul, and propose a renewal of the treaty, upon the same conditions as had been imposed by T. Quintius, when victorious, upon his father Philip. That he could not put an end to the war more gloriously for himself, than after so memorable a battle; nor hope a more favourable occasion of concluding a sure and lasting peace, than at a conjuncture when the check the Romans had received would render them more tractable, and better inclined to grant him good conditions. That if, notwithstanding that check, the Romans, out of a pride too natural to them, should reject a just and equitable accommodation, he would at least have the consolation of having the gods and men for witnesses of his own moderation, and the haughty obstinacy of the Romans.

The king acquiesced in these wise remonstrances, to which he never was averse. The majority of the council also applauded them. Ambassadors were accordingly sent to the consul, who gave them audience in the presence of a numerous assembly. They told him they came to demand peace; that Perseus would pay the same tribute to the Romans as his father Philip had done, and abandon all the cities, territories, and places, which that prince had abandoned.

When they withdrew, the council deliberated upon the answer it was proper to make. The Roman firmness displayed itself upon this occasion in an extraordinary manner. It was the custom* at that time,

* *Ita tum mos erat, in adversis vultum secundæ fortunæ gerere, moderari animos in secundis.*

to express in adversity all the assurance and loftiness of good fortune, and to act with moderation in prosperity. The answer was, that no peace could be granted to Perseus, unless he submitted himself and his kingdom to the discretion of the senate. When it was related to the king and his friends, they were strangely surprised at so extraordinary, and, in their opinion, so ill-timed a pride; most of them believed it needless to talk any further of peace, and that the Romans would be soon reduced to demand what they now refused. Perseus was not of the same opinion. He judged rightly, that Rome was not so haughty but from a consciousness of superiority; and that reflection daunted him exceedingly. He sent again to the consul, and offered a more considerable tribute than had been imposed upon Philip. When he saw the consul would retract nothing from his first answer, having no longer any hopes of peace, he returned to his former camp at Sycurium, determined to try again the fortune of the war.

We may conclude, from the whole conduct of Perseus, that he must have undertaken this war with great imprudence, and without having compared his strength and resources with those of the Romans. To think himself fortunate in being able, after a signal victory, to demand peace, and submit to more oppressive conditions than his father Philip had complied with till after a bloody defeat, seems to argue, that he had taken his measures and concerted the means of success very ill; since, after a first action entirely to his advantage, he begins to discern all his weakness and inferiority, and in some sort inclines to despair. Why then was he the first to break the peace? Why was he the aggressor? Why was he in such haste? Was it to stop short at the first step? How came he not to know his weakness, till his own victory showed it him? These are not the signs of a wise and judicious prince.

The news of the battle of the cavalry, which soon spread in Greece, made known what the people

thought and discovered in its full light to which side they inclined. It was received with joy, not only by the partizans of Macedonia, but even by most of those whom the Romans had obliged, of whom some suffered with pain their haughty manners and insolence of power.

The prætor Lucretius at the same time was besieging the city of Haliartus in Bœotia.[c] After a long and vigorous defence, it was taken at last by storm, plundered, and afterwards entirely demolished. Thebes soon after surrendered, and then Lucretius returned with his fleet.

Perseus, in the mean time, who was not far from the camp of the Romans, gave them great trouble; harassing their troops, and falling upon their foragers, whenever they ventured out of their camp. He took one day a thousand carriages, laden principally with sheafs of corn which the Romans had been to reap, and made six hundred prisoners. He afterwards attacked a small body of troops in the neighbourhood, of which he expected to make himself master with little or no difficulty; but he found more resistance than he had imagined. That small body was commanded by a brave officer called L. Pompeius, who, retiring to an eminence, defended himself there with intrepid courage, determined to die with his troops, rather than surrender. He was upon the point of being borne down by numbers, when the consul arrived to his assistance with a strong detachment of horse and lighted-armed foot; the legions were ordered to follow him. The sight of the consul gave Pompeius and his troops new courage, who were eight hundred men, all Romans. Perseus immediately sent for his phalanx; but the consul did not wait its coming up, and came directly to blows. The Macedonians, after having made a very vigorous resistance for some time, were at last broken and put to the rout. Three hundred foot were left upon the

[c] Liv. l. xlii. n. 64—67.

field, with twenty-four of the best horse, of the troop called the *Sacred Squadron*, of which the commander himself, Antimachus, was killed.

The success of this action re-animated the Romans, and very much alarmed Perseus. After having put a strong garrison into Gonnus, he marched back his army into Macedonia.

The consul having reduced Perrhœbia, and taken Larissa and some other cities, dismissed all the allies, except the Achæans; dispersed his troops in Thessaly, where he left them in winter-quarters, and went into Bœotia at the request of the Thebans, upon whom the people of Coronæa had made incursions.

SECT. III. *The senate pass a wise decree to put a stop to the avarice of the generals and magistrates, who oppressed the allies. The consul Marcius, after sustaining great fatigue, enters Macedonia. Perseus takes the alarm, and leaves the passes open: He resumes courage afterwards. Insolent embassy of the Rhodians to Rome.*

A. M. 3834. Ant. J. C. 170. NOTHING memorable passed the following year[d]. The consul Hostilius had sent Ap. Claudius into Illyria with four thousand foot, to defend such of the inhabitants of that country as were allies of the Romans; and the latter had found means to add eight thousand men, raised among the allies, to his first body of troops. He encamped at Lychnidus, a city of the Dassaretæ. Near that place was another city, called Uscana, which belonged to Perseus, and where he had a strong garrison. Claudius, upon the promise which had been made him of having the place put into his hands, in hopes of making great booty, approached it with almost all his troops, without any order, distrust, or precaution. Whilst he thought least of it, the garrison made a furious sally upon

[d] Liv. l. xliii. n. 9, 10.

him, put his whole army to flight, and pursued them a great way with dreadful slaughter. Of eleven thousand men, scarce two thousand escaped into the camp, which a thousand had been left to guard: Claudius returned to Lychnidus with the ruins of his army. The news of this loss very much afflicted the senate; and the more, because it had been occasioned by the imprudence and avarice of Claudius.

This was [e] the almost universal disease of the commanders at that time. The senate received various complaints from many cities, as well of Greece as the other provinces, against the Roman officers, who treated them with unheard-of rapaciousness and cruelty. They punished some of them, redressed the wrongs they had done the cities, and dismissed the ambassadors well satisfied with the manner in which their remonstrances had been received. Soon after, to prevent such disorders for the future, they passed a decree, which expressed that the cities should not furnish the Roman magistrates with any thing more than what the senate expressly appointed; which ordinance was published in all the cities of Peloponnesus.

[e]C. Popilius and Cn. Octavius, who were charged with this commission, went first to Thebes, where they very much praised the citizens, and exhorted them to continue firm in their alliance with the Roman people. Proceeding afterwards to the other cities of Peloponnesus, they boasted every where of the lenity and moderation of the senate, which they proved by their late decree in favour of the Greeks. They found great divisions in almost all the cities, especially among the Ætolians, occasioned by two factions which divided them, one for the Romans, and the other for the Macedonians. The assembly of Achaia was not exempt from these divisions; but the wisdom of the persons of greatest authority pre-

[e] Polyb. Legat. lxxiv. Liv. l. xliii. n. 17.

vented their consequences. The advice of Archon, one of the principal persons of the league, was to act according to conjunctures, to leave no room for calumny to irritate either of the contending powers against the republic, and to avoid the misfortunes into which those were fallen, who had not been sufficiently aware of the power of the Romans. This advice prevailed; and it was resolved that Archon should be made chief magistrate, and Polybius captain general of the horse.

About this time, Attalus having something to demand of the Achæan league, caused the new magistrate to be sounded; who being determined in favour of the Romans and their allies, promised that prince to support his suit with all his power. The affair in question was, to have a decree reversed, by which it was ordained, that all the statues of king Eumenes should be removed from the public places. At the first council that was held, the ambassadors of Attalus were introduced to the assembly, who demanded, that in consideration of the prince who sent them, Eumenes, his brother, should be restored to the honours which the republic had formerly decreed him. Archon supported this demand, but with great moderation. Polybius spoke with more force, enlarged upon the merit and services of Eumenes, demonstrated the injustice of the first decree, and concluded that it was proper to repeal it. The whole assembly applauded his discourse, and it was resolved that Eumenes should be restored to all his honours.

A. M. 3835. Ant. J. C. 169. It was at this time that Rome sent Popilius to Antiochus Epiphanes, to prevent his enterprises against Egypt, which we have mentioned before.

[f]The Macedonian war gave the Romans great employment. Q. Marcius Philippus, one of the two consuls lately elected, was charged with it.

Before he set out, Perseus had conceived the design of taking the advantage of the winter to make

[f]Liv. l. xliii. n. 11; &18—23. Polyb. Legat. lxxvi. lxxvii.

an expedition against Illyria, which was the only province from whence Macedonia had reason to fear irruptions during the king's being employed against the Romans. This expedition succeeded very happily for him, and almost without any loss on his side. He began with the siege of Uscana, which had fallen into the hands of the Romans (it is not known how), and took it, after a defence of some duration. He afterwards made himself master of all the strong places in the country, the most part of which had Roman garrisons in them, and took a great number of prisoners.

Perseus at the same time sent ambassadors to Gentius, one of the kings of Illyria, to induce him to quit the party of the Romans, and come over to him. Gentius was far from being averse to it; but he observed, that having neither ammunition for the war, nor money, he was in no condition to declare against the Romans; which was explaining himself sufficiently. Perseus, who was avaricious, did not understand, or rather affected not to understand, his demand, and sent a second embassy to him without mention of money, and received the same answer. Polybius observes, that this fear of expence, which denotes a little and mean soul, and entirely dishonours a prince, made many of his enterprises miscarry; and that if he would have sacrificed certain sums, and those far from considerable, he might have engaged several republics and princes in his party. Can such a blindness be conceived in a rational creature! Polybius considers it as a punishment from the gods.

Perseus, having led back his troops into Macedonia, made them march afterwards to Stratus, a very strong city of Ætolia, above the gulf of Ambracia. The people had given him hopes that they would surrender it as soon as he appeared before the walls; but the Romans prevented them, and threw succours into the place.

Early in the spring the consul Marcius left Rome, and went to Thessaly, from whence, without losing

time, he advanced into Macedonia, fully assured that it was necessary to attack Perseus in the heart of his dominions.

Upon the report[g] that the Roman army was ready to take the field, Archon, chief magistrate of the Achæans, to justify his country from the suspicions and injurious reports that had been propagated against it, advised the Achæans to pass a decree, by which it should be ordained, that they should march an army into Thessaly, and share in all the dangers of the war with the Romans. That decree being confirmed, orders were given to Archon to raise troops, and to make all the necessary preparations. It was afterwards resolved, that ambassadors should be sent to the consul, to acquaint him with the resolution of the republic, and to know from him where and when the Achæan army should join him. Polybius, our historian, with some others, was charged with this embassy. They found the Romans had quitted Thessaly, and were encamped in Perrhœbia, between Azorus and Doliche, greatly perplexed about the route it was necessary to take. They followed them, in order to await a favourable opportunity of speaking to the consul, and shared with him in all the dangers he ran in entering Macedonia.

Perseus,[h] who did not know what route the consul would take, had posted considerable bodies of troops in two places, by which it was probable he would attempt to pass. For himself, he encamped with the rest of his army near Dium, marching and countermarching without any fixed object.

Marcius, after long deliberation, resolved to pass the forest that covered the heights of Octolophus. He had incredible difficulties to surmount, the ways were so steep and impracticable; but he had had the precaution to seize an eminence, which favoured his passage. From hence the enemy's camp, which was not distant above a thousand paces, and all the

[g] Polyb. Legat. lxxviii. [h] Liv. l. xliv. n. 1—10.

country about Dium and Phila, might be discovered; which very much animated the soldiers, who had before their eyes such opulent lands, where they hoped to enrich themselves. Hippias, whom the king had posted to defend this pass with a body of twelve thousand men, seeing the eminence possessed by a detachment of the Romans, marched to meet the consul, who was advancing with his whole army, harassed his troops for two days, and distressed them very much by frequent attacks. Marcius was in great trouble, not being able either to advance with safety, or retreat without shame, or even danger. He had no other choice to make, than to pursue with vigour an undertaking, formed perhaps with too much boldness and temerity, but which could not succeed without a determinate perseverance, which is often crowned in the end with success. It is certain that if the consul had had to deal with an enemy like the ancient kings of Macedonia, in the narrow defile where his troops were pent up, he would infallibly have received a great blow. But Perseus, instead of sending fresh troops to support Hippias, the cries of whose soldiers in battle he could hear in his camp, and of going in person to attack the enemy, amused himself with making useless excursions with his cavalry into the country about Dium, and by that neglect gave the Romans an opportunity of extricating themselves from the dangerous situation into which they had brought themselves.

It was not without infinite pains that they effected this; the horses laden with their baggage sinking under their burdens as they descended the mountain, and falling down at almost every step they took. The elephants, especially, gave them great trouble: it was necessary to find some new means for their descent in such extremely steep places. Having cleared a level on the snow on these declivities, they drove two beams into the earth at the lower part of the road, at the distance of something more than the breadth of an elephant from each other. Upon those beams

they laid planks of thirty feet in length, and formed a kind of bridge, which they covered with earth. At the end of the first bridge, but at some little distance, they erected a second, then a third, and as many more of the same kind as were necessary. The elephant passed from the firm ground to the bridge; and before he came to the end, they contrived to lower insensibly the beams that supported it, and let him gently down with the bridge: he went on in that manner to the second, and so to all the rest. It is not easy to express the fatigues they underwent in this pass; the soldiers being often obliged to roll down with their arms, because it was impossible for them to keep their footing. It was agreed that with a handful of men the enemy might have entirely defeated the Roman army. At length, after infinite difficulties and dangers, it arrived in a plain, and found itself in safety.

As the consul [1]seemed then to have happily overcome the greatest difficulty of his enterprise, Polybius thought this a proper time for presenting to Marcius the decree of the Achæans, and assuring him of their resolution to join him with all their forces, and to share with him in all the labours and dangers of this war. Marcius, after having thanked the Achæans for their goodwill in the kindest terms, told them, they might spare themselves the trouble and expence that war would give them; that he would dispense with both; and that, in the present posture of affairs, he had no occasion for the aid of his allies. After this discourse, Polybius's colleagues returned into Achaia.

Polybius alone continued in the Roman army, till the consul, having received advice that Appius, surnamed Cento, had demanded of the Achæans a body of five thousand men to be sent him into Epirus, dispatched him home with advice, not to suffer his republic to furnish those troops, or engage in expences entirely unnecessary, as Appius had no reason to demand that aid. It is difficult, says the historian, to

[1] Polyb. Legat. lxxviii.

discover the real motives that induced Marcius to talk in this manner. Did he wish to spare the Achæans, or was he laying a snare for them? or did he intend to put it out of Appius's power to undertake any thing?

Whilst the king was bathing, he was informed of the enemy's approach. That news alarmed him terribly. Uncertain what plan to pursue, and changing every moment his resolution, he cried out, and lamented his being conquered without fighting. He recalled the two officers, to whom he had confided the defence of the passes; sent *the gilt statues at Dium on board his fleet, lest they should fall into the hands of the Romans; gave orders that his treasures, which were laid up at Pella, should be thrown into the sea, and all his galleys at Thessalonica burnt. For himself, he retired to Pydna.

The consul had brought the army to a place from whence it was impossible to disengage himself without the enemy's permission. The only passage for him was through two forests; by the one he might penetrate through the valleys of Tempe into Thessaly, and by the other, beyond Dium, enter farther into Macedonia; and both these important posts were possessed by strong garrisons whom the king had placed there. So that if Perseus had only staid ten days without taking fright, it had been impossible for the Romans to have entered Thessaly by Tempe, and the consul would have had no pass by which provisions could be conveyed to him. For the ways through Tempe are bordered by such vast precipices, that the eye could scarce look down from them without dizziness. The king's troops guarded this pass at four several places, of which the last was so narrow, that ten men, well armed, could alone have defended the entrance. The Romans, therefore, not being able either to receive provisions by the narrow passes of

* These were the statues of the horse-soldiers killed in passing the Granicus, which Alexander had caused to be made by Lysippus, and to be set up in Dium.

Tempe, nor to get through them, must have been obliged to regain the mountains from whence they came down, which was become impracticable, the enemy having possessed themselves of the eminences. The only choice they had left was to open their way into Macedonia, through their enemies, to Dium; which * would have been no less difficult, if the gods, says Livy, had not deprived Perseus of prudence and counsel. For in making a fossé with intrenchments in a very narrow defile, at the foot of mount Olympus, he would have absolutely shut them out, and stopped them short. But in the blindness into which his fear had thrown the king, he neither saw nor put in execution any of the various means in his power to save himself, but left all the passes of his kingdom open and unguarded, and took refuge at Pydna with precipitation.

The consul perceived aright, that he owed his safety to the king's timidity and imprudence. He ordered the prætor Lucretius, who was at Larissa, to seize the posts bordering upon Tempe, which Perseus had abandoned, in order to secure a retreat in case of accident; and sent Popilius to take a view of the passes in the way to Dium. When he was informed that the ways were open and unguarded, he marched thither in two days, and encamped his army near the temple of Jupiter, in the neighbourhood, to prevent its being plundered. Having entered the city, which was full of magnificent buildings, and well fortified, he was exceedingly surprised that the king had abandoned it so easily. He continued his march, and made himself master of several places, almost without any resistance. But the farther he advanced, the less provisions he found, and the more the dearth increased; which obliged him to return to Dium. He was also reduced to quit that city, and retire to Phila, where the prætor Lucretius had informed him

* *Quod, nisi dii mentem regi ademissent, ipsum ingentis difficultatis erat.* Liv.

he might find provisions in abundance. His quitting Dium suggested to Perseus, that it was now time to recover by his courage what he had lost by his fear. He repossessed himself therefore of that city, and soon repaired its ruins. Popilius, on his side, besieged and took Heraclea, which was only a quarter of a league distant from Phila.

Perseus, having recovered his fright and resumed his spirits, would have been very glad that his orders to throw his treasures at Pella into the sea, and burn all his ships at Thessalonica, had not been executed. Andronicus, to whom he had given the latter order, had delayed obeying it, to give time for the repentance which might soon follow that command, as indeed it happened. Nicias, with less precaution, had thrown all the money he found at Pella into the sea. But his fault was soon repaired by divers, who brought up almost the whole money from the bottom of the sea. To reward their services, the king caused them all to be put to death secretly, as well as Andronicus and Nicias; so much was he ashamed of the abject terror to which he had abandoned himself, that he could not bear to have any witnesses or traces of it in being.

Several expeditions passed on both sides by sea and land, which were neither of much consequence nor importance.

When Polybius[k] returned from his embassy into Peloponnesus, Appius's letter, in which he demanded five thousand men, had been received there. Some time after, the council which was assembled at Sicyon, to deliberate upon that affair, gave Polybius great perplexity. Not to execute the order he had received from Marcius, had been an inexcusable fault. On the other side, it was dangerous to refuse the Romans the troops they might have occasion for, and of which the Achæans were in no want. To extricate themselves in so delicate a conjuncture, they had recourse to the decree of the Roman senate, that pro-

[k] Polyb. Legat. lxxviii.

hibited their paying any regard to the letters of the generals, unless an order of the senate was annexed to them, which Appius had not sent with his. It was his opinion, therefore, that before any thing was sent to Appius, it was necessary to inform the consul of his demand, and to wait for his decision upon it. By that means, Polybius saved the Achæans an expence, which would have amounted to more than a hundred and twenty thousand crowns.

In the mean time[1] arrived at Rome ambassadors from Prusias, king of Bithynia, and also from the Rhodians, in favour of Perseus. The former expressed themselves very modestly, declaring that Prusias had constantly adhered to the Roman party, and should continue to do so during the war; but that having promised Perseus to employ his good offices in his behalf with the Romans, in order to obtain a peace, he desired, if it were possible, that they would grant him that favour, and make use of his mediation as they should think convenient. The language of the Rhodians was very different. After having set forth, in a lofty style, the services they had done the Roman people, and ascribed to themselves the greatest share in the victories they had obtained, and especially in that over Antiochus, they added, that whilst the peace subsisted between the Macedonians and Romans, they had negociated a treaty of alliance with Perseus; that they had suspended it against their will, and without any subject of complaint against the king, because it had pleased the Romans to engage them on their side; that during the three years which this war had continued, they had suffered many inconveniences from it; that their trade by sea being interrupted, the island found itself in great straits, from the reduction of its revenues and other advantages arising from commerce; that being no longer able to support such considerable losses, they had sent ambassadors into Macedonia, to king Per-

[1] Liv. l. xliv. n. 14—16.

seus, to inform him that the Rhodians thought it necessary that he should make peace with the Romans, and that they were also sent to Rome to make the same declaration; that if either of the parties refused to accede to so reasonable a proposal, the Rhodians should know what they had to do.

It is easy to judge in what manner so vain and presumptuous a discourse was received. Some historians tell us, that all the answer that was given to it was, to order a decree of the senate, whereby the Carians and Lycians were declared free, to be read in their presence. This was touching them to the quick, and mortifying them in the most sensible part; for they pretended to an authority over both those nations. Others say, the senate answered in few words; that the disposition of the Rhodians, and their secret intrigues with Perseus, had been long known at Rome: that when the Roman people should have conquered him, of which they expected advice every day, they should know in their turn what they had to do, and should then treat their allies according to their respective merits. They made the ambassadors, however, the usual presents.

The consul Q. Marcius's letter was then read; in which he gave an account of the manner he had entered Macedonia, after having suffered incredible difficulties in passing a very narrow defile. He added, that by the wise precaution of the prætor, he had sufficient provisions for the whole winter; having received from the Epirots twenty thousand measures of wheat and ten thousand of barley, for which it was necessary to pay their ambassadors then at Rome: that it was also necessary to send him clothes for the soldiers: that he wanted two hundred horses, especially from Numidia, because there were none of that kind in the country where he was. All these articles were exactly and immediately executed.

After this they gave audience to Onesimus, a Macedonian nobleman. He had always advised the king to maintain peace; and putting him in mind

that his father Philip, to the last day of his life, had caused his treaty with the Romans to be constantly read to him twice every day, he had admonished him to do as much, if not with the same regularity, at least from time to time. Not being able to dissuade him from the war, he had begun to withdraw himself from his councils, under different pretexts, that he might not be witness to the resolutions taken in them, which he could not approve. At length, seeing himself become suspected, and tacitly considered as a traitor, he had taken refuge amongst the Romans, and had been of great service to the consul. Having made this relation to the senate, they gave him a very favourable reception, and provided magnificently for his subsistence.

SECT. IV. *Paulus Æmilius chosen consul. He sets out for Macedonia with the prætor Cn. Octavius, who commanded the fleet. Perseus solicits aid on all sides. His avarice is the cause of his losing considerable allies. The prætor Anicius's victories in Illyria. Paulus Æmilius's celebrated victory over Perseus near the city of Pydna. Perseus taken with all his children. The command of Paulus Æmilius in Macedonia prolonged. Decree of the senate granting liberty to the Macedonians and Illyrians. Paulus Æmilius, during the winter quarters, visits the most celebrated cities of Greece. Upon his return to Amphipolis he gives a great feast. He marches for Rome. On his way he suffers his army to plunder all the cities of Epirus. He enters Rome in triumph. Death of Perseus. Cn. Octavius and L. Anicius have also the honour of a triumph decreed them.*

A. M. 3836. Ant. J. C. 168. THE time for the comitia,[m] or assemblies for the election of consuls at Rome, approaching, all the

[m] Liv. l. xliv. n. 17. Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 259, 260.

world were anxious to know upon whom so important a choice would fall, and nothing else was talked of in all conversations. They were not satisfied with the consuls who had been employed for three years against Perseus, and had very ill sustained the honour of the Roman name. They called to mind the famous victories formerly obtained over his father Philip, who had been obliged to sue for peace; over Antiochus, who was driven beyond mount Taurus, and forced to pay a great tribute; and, what was still more considerable, over Hannibal, the greatest general that had ever appeared as their enemy, or perhaps in the world, whom they had reduced to quit Italy after a war of more than sixteen years' continuance, and conquered in his own country almost under the very walls of Carthage. The formidable preparations made by Perseus, and some advantages gained by him in the former campaigns, augmented the apprehension of the Romans. They plainly discerned that it was no time to confer the command of the armies by faction or favour, and that it was necessary to choose a general for his wisdom, valour, and experience; in a word, one capable of conducting so important a war as that now upon their hands.

All the world cast their eyes upon Paulus Æmilius. There are times when distinguished merit unites the voices of the public; and nothing is more grateful than such a judgment, founded upon the knowledge of a man's past services, the army's opinion of his capacity, and the state's pressing occasion for his valour and conduct. Paulus Æmilius was near sixty years old: but age, without impairing his faculties in the least, had rather improved them with maturity of wisdom and judgment; more necessary in a general than even valour and bravery. He had been consul thirteen years before, and had acquired general esteem during his administration. But the people repaid his services with ingratitude, having refused to raise him again to the same dignity, though he had solicited it with sufficient ardour. For several years he had led

a private and retired life, solely employed in the education of his children, in which no father ever succeeded better, nor was more gloriously rewarded for his care. All his relations, all his friends, urged him to comply with the people's wishes in taking upon him the consulship: but believing himself no longer capable of commanding, he avoided appearing in public, kept himself at home, and shunned honours with as much solicitude as others generally pursue them. However, when he saw the people assemble every morning in crowds before his door, that they summoned him to the Forum, and exclaimed highly against his obstinate refusal to serve his country, he acceded at last to their remonstrances; and appearing amongst those who aspired to that dignity, he seemed less to receive the command of the army, than to give the people the assurance of an approaching and complete victory. The consulship was conferred upon him unanimously; and, according to Plutarch, the command of the army in Macedonia was assigned to him in preference to his colleague, though Livy says it fell to him by lot.

It is said, that on the very day that he was elected general in the war against Perseus, at his return home, attended by all the people, who followed to do him honour, he found his daughter Tertia, at that time a little infant, crying bitterly. He embraced her, and asked her the cause of her tears. Tertia, hugging him with her little arms, "Do you not know "then, father," said she, "that our Perseus is dead?" She spoke of a little dog she had brought up, called *Perseus*. "And at a very good time, my dear "child," said Paulus Æmilius, struck with the word; "I accept this omen with joy." The ancients carried their superstition with respect to this kind of fortuitous occurrences very high.

The manner[a] in which Paulus Æmilius prepared for the war he was charged with, gave room to judge

[a] Liv. l. xliv. n. 18—22. Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 260.

of the success to be expected from it. He demanded, first, that commissioners should be sent into Macedonia to inspect the army and fleet, and to make their report, after an exact enquiry, of the number of troops which were necessary to be added both by sea and land. They were also to inform themselves, as near as possible, of the number of the king's forces; where they and the Romans actually lay; if the latter were encamped in the forests, or had entirely passed them, and were arrived in the plain; upon which of the allies they might rely with certainty, which of them were dubious and wavering, and whom they might regard as declared enemies; for how long time they had provisions, and from whence they might be supplied with them either by land or water; what had passed during the last campaign, either in the army by land, or in the fleet. As an able and experienced general, he thought it necessary to enter fully into this detail; convinced that the plan of the campaign upon which he was about to enter, could not be formed, nor its operations concerted, without a perfect knowledge of all these particulars. The senate highly approved these wise measures, and appointed commissioners, with the approbation of Paulus Æmilius, who set out two days after.

During their absence, audience was given the ambassadors from Ptolemy and Cleopatra, king and queen of Egypt, who brought complaints to Rome of the unjust enterprises of Antiochus, king of Syria; which have been before related.

The commissioners made extraordinary dispatch. Upon their return, they reported that Marcius had forced the passes of Macedonia, to get entrance into the country, but with more danger than utility: that the king was advanced into Pieria, and in actual possession of it: that the two camps were very near each other, being separated only by the river Enipeus: that the king avoided a battle, and that the Roman army was neither in a condition to oblige

him to fight, nor to force his lines: that, in addition to the other inconveniences, a very severe winter had happened, from which they suffered exceedingly in that mountainous country, and were entirely prevented from acting; and that they had only provisions for six days: that the army of the Macedonians was supposed to amount to thirty thousand men: that if Appius Claudius had been sufficiently strong in the neighbourhood of Lychnidus, in Illyria, he might have acted with good effect against king Gentius; but that Claudius and his troops were actually in great danger, unless a considerable reinforcement were immediately sent him, or he ordered directly to quit the post he then occupied: that after having visited the camp, they had repaired to the fleet: that they had been told, that part of the crews were dead of diseases; that the rest of the allies, especially those of Sicily, were returned home; and that the fleet was entirely in want of seamen and soldiers; that those who remained had not received their pay, and had no clothes: that Eumenes and his fleet, after having just shown themselves, disappeared immediately, without any cause that could be assigned; and that it seemed his inclinations neither could nor ought to be relied on; but that as for his brother Attalus, his goodwill was not to be doubted.

Upon this report of the commissioners, after Paulus Æmilius had given his opinion, the senate decreed that he should set forward without loss of time for Macedonia, with the prætor Cn. Octavius, who had the command of the fleet, and L. Anicius, another prætor, who was to succeed Ap. Claudius in his post near Lychnidus, in Illyria. The number of troops which each of them was to command, was regulated in the following manner.

The troops of which the army of Paulus Æmilius consisted, amounted to twenty-five thousand eight hundred men; that is, two Roman legions, each composed of six thousand foot and three hundred horse; as many of the infantry of the Italian allies,

and twice the number of horse. He had, besides, six hundred horse raised in Gallia Cisalpina, and some auxiliary troops from the allies of Greece and Asia. The whole, in all probability, did not amount to more than thirty thousand men. The prætor Anicius was to have also two legions; but they consisted of only five thousand foot and three hundred horse each; which, with ten thousand of the Italian allies and eight hundred horse, composed the army under him of twenty-one thousand two hundred men. The troops that served on board the fleet were five thousand men. These three bodies together made fifty-six thousand two hundred men.

As the war which they were preparing to make this year in Macedonia seemed of the utmost consequence, every precaution was taken that might conduce to the success of it. The consuls and people had the choice of the tribunes who were to serve in it, and each commanded in his turn an entire legion. It was decreed that none should be elected into this employment but such as had already served, and Paulus Æmilius was left at liberty to choose out of all the tribunes such as he approved for his army: he had twelve for the two legions.

It must be allowed that the Romans acted with great wisdom upon this occasion. They had, as we have seen, unanimously chosen as consul and general, the person amongst them who was indisputably the greatest captain of his time. They had resolved that no officers should be raised to the post of tribune, but such as were distinguished by their merit, experience, and capacity, instanced in real service; advantages that are not always the effect of birth or seniority, to which indeed the Romans paid little or no regard. They did more: by a particular exception, compatible with republican government, Paulus Æmilius was left at entire liberty to choose such of the tribunes as he thought fit; well knowing the great importance of a perfect union between the general and the officers who serve under him, in order to insure the exact

and punctual execution of the commands of the former, who is in a manner the soul of the army, and ought to direct all its motions, which cannot be done without the best understanding between them, founded in a love for the public good, with which neither interest, jealousy, nor ambition, are capable of interfering.

After all these regulations were made, the consul Paulus Æmilius repaired from the senate to the assembly of the people, to whom he spoke in this manner. "You seem to me, Romans, to have ex- "pressed more joy when Macedonia fell to my lot, "than when I was elected consul, or entered upon "that office; and to me your joy seemed to be oc- "casioned by the hopes you conceived that I should "put an end, in a manner worthy of the grandeur "and reputation of the Roman people, to a war, "which, in your opinion, has already been of too "long continuance. I have reason to believe, that "the same gods,* who have occasioned Macedonia "to fall to my lot, will also assist me with their pro- "tection in conducting and terminating this war suc- "cessfully: but of this I may venture to assure you, "that I shall do my utmost not to fall short of your "expectations. The senate has wisely regulated every "thing necessary for the expedition with which I am "charged; and, as I am ordered to set out immedi- "ately, in which I shall make no delay, I am con- "vinced that my colleague, C. Licinius, out of his great "zeal for the public service, will raise and march off "the troops appointed for me, with as much ardour "and expedition as if they were for himself. I shall "take care to remit to you, as well as to the senate, "an exact account of all that passes; and you may "rely upon the certainty and truth of my letters: "but I beg of you, as a great favour, that you will not "give credit to, or attribute consequence by your cre-

* It was a received opinion in all ages and nations, that the Divinity presides over chance.

"dulity to the vague and unauthenticated reports "which are frequently spread abroad. I perceive "well, in this war, more than any other, that with "whatever resolution people may determine to disre- "gard these rumours, they will not fail to make an "impression, and inspire some degree of discourage- "ment. There are those, who in company, and even "at table, command armies, regulate the disposition "of the forces, and prescribe all the operations of the "campaign. They know better than we where we "should encamp, and what posts it is necessary for "us to seize; at what time, and by what defile, we "ought to enter Macedonia; where it is proper to "establish our magazines; from whence, either by "sea or land, we are to bring provisions; when we "are to fight the enemy, and when lie still. They "not only prescribe what is best to be done, but for "deviating ever so little from their plans, they make "it a crime in their consul, and cite him before their "tribunal. But know, Romans, this is a great impe- "diment with your generals. All have not the reso- "lution and constancy of Fabius, to despise imper- "tinent reports. He could choose rather to suffer "the people upon such rumours to invade his autho- "rity, than to ruin the business of the state in order "to secure to himself their good opinion, and an "empty name. I am far from believing that generals "stand in no need of advice: I think, on the contrary, "that whoever would conduct every thing alone, "upon his own opinion, and without consulting the "judgment of others, shows more presumption than "prudence. But some may ask, How then shall we "act reasonably? By not suffering any persons to ob- "trude their advice upon your generals, but such as "are, in the first place, versed in the art of war, and "have learned from experience what it is to com- "mand; and in the second, who are upon the spot, "who know the enemy, are witnesses in person to "all that passes, and sharers with us in all dangers. "If there be any one who conceives himself capable

" of assisting me with his counsels in the war you have " charged me with, let him not refuse to do the " republic that service, but let him go with me into " Macedonia; a ship, horses, tents, provisions, shall " all be supplied him at my charge. But if he will not " take so much trouble, and prefers the tranquillity " of the city to the dangers and fatigues of the field, " let him not take upon him to hold the helm, and " continue idle in port. The city of itself supplies " sufficient matter of discourse on other subjects; " but as for these, let it be silent, and know, that we " shall pay no regard to any counsels, but such as " shall be given us in the camp itself."

This discourse of Paulus Æmilius, which abounds with reason and good sense, shows that men are the same in all ages of the world. People have an incredible itch for examining, criticizing, and condemning the conduct of generals, and do not observe, that by so doing they act in manifest contradiction to reason and justice: to reason; for what can be more absurd and ridiculous, than to see persons, without any knowledge or experience in war, set themselves up for censors of the most able generals, and pronounce with a magisterial air upon their actions? to justice; for the most experienced can make no certain judgment without being upon the spot; the least circumstance of time, place, disposition of the troops, secret orders not divulged, being capable of making an absolute change in the general rules of conduct. But we must not expect to see a failing reformed, that has its source in the curiosity and vanity of human nature; and generals would do wisely, after the example of Paulus Æmilius, to despise these city reports, and crude opinions of idle people, who have nothing else to do, and have generally as little judgment as business.

Paulus Æmilius, after having discharged, according to custom, the duties of religion, set out for Macedonia, with the prætor Cn. Octavius, to whom the command of the fleet had been allotted.

* Whilst they were employed at Rome in making preparations for the war, Perseus, on his side, had not been asleep. The fear of the approaching danger which threatened him, having at length got the better of his avarice, he agreed to give Gentius, king of Illyria, three hundred talents of silver, (that is, three hundred thousand crowns,) and purchased his alliance at that price.

He sent ambassadors at the same time to Rhodes, convinced that if that island, very powerful at that time by sea, should embrace his party, Rome would be very much embarrassed. He sent deputies also to Eumenes and Antiochus, two very potent kings, and capable of giving him great aid. Perseus did wisely in having recourse to these measures, and in endeavouring to strengthen himself by such supports; but he entered upon them too late. He ought to have begun by taking those steps, and to have made them the first foundation of his enterprise. He did not think of putting those remote powers in motion, till he was reduced almost to extremity, and his affairs were almost absolutely desperate. It was rather calling in spectators and associates of his ruin, than aids and supports. The instructions which he gave his ambassadors were very solid and forcible, as we shall soon see; but he should have made use of them three years sooner, and have waited their effect, before he embarked, almost alone, in the war against so powerful a people, and one that had so many resources in case of misfortune.

The ambassadors had the same instructions for both those kings. They represented to them, that there was a natural enmity between republics and monarchies. That the Roman people attacked the kings one after another, and, what added extremely to the indignity, that they employed the forces of the kings themselves to ruin them in succession. That

* Liv. l. xliv. n. 23—29. Polyb. Legat. lxxxv.—lxxxvii. Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 260, 261.

they had crushed his father by the assistance of Attalus; that by the aid of Eumenes, and, in some measure, by that of his father Philip, Antiochus had been subjected, and that at present they had armed Eumenes and Prusias against himself. That after the kingdom of Macedonia should be destroyed, Asia would be the next to experience the same fate; of which they had already usurped a part, under the specious pretext of re-establishing the cities in their ancient liberty; and that Syria's turn would soon follow. That they had already begun to prefer Prusias to Eumenes by particular distinctions of honour, and had deprived Antiochus of the fruits of his victories in Egypt. Perseus requested of them, either to induce the Romans to give Macedonia peace; or, if they persevered in the unjust design of continuing the war, to regard them as the common enemy of all kings. The ambassadors treated with Antiochus openly, and without any reserve.

In regard to Eumenes, they covered their voyage with the pretext of ransoming prisoners, and treated only in secret upon the real cause of their mission. There had passed already several conferences, at different times and places, upon the same subject, which had begun to render that prince very much suspected by the Romans. It was not that Eumenes desired in reality, that Perseus should be victorious against the Romans; the enormous power he would then have had, would have given him umbrage, and highly alarmed his jealousy; neither was he more willing to declare openly against him, or to make war upon him. But, in hopes to see the two parties equally inclined to peace; Perseus, from his fear of the misfortunes which might befall him; the Romans, from being weary of a war spun out to too great a length; he desired to become the mediator of a peace between them, and to make Perseus purchase his mediation, or at least his inaction and neutrality, at a high price. That was already agreed upon, and was fifteen hundred talents (fifteen hundred thousand crowns). The

only difference that remained, was in settling the time for the payment of that sum. Perseus was for waiting till the service was performed, and in the mean time offered to deposit the money in Samothracia. Eumenes did not believe himself secure in that, because Samothracia depended on Perseus; and therefore he insisted upon immediate payment of part of the money. This broke up the treaty.

He failed likewise in another negociation, which might have been no less in his favour. He had caused a body of Gauls to come from the other side of the Danube, consisting of ten thousand horse and as many foot, and had agreed to give ten pieces of gold to each horseman, five to the infantry, and a thousand to their captains. I have observed above, that these Gauls had taken the name of Bastarnæ. When he received advice that they were arrived upon the frontiers of his dominions, he went to meet them with half his troops, and gave orders, that in the towns and villages through which they were to pass, great quantities of corn, wine, and cattle, should be provided for them; he had presents for their principal officers, of horses, arms, and jackets; to these he added some money, which was to be distributed amongst a small number: he imagined he should gain the multitude by this bait. The king halted near the river Axius, where he encamped with his troops. He deputed Antigonus, one of the Macedonian lords, to the Gauls, who were about thirty leagues distant from him. Antigonus was astonished when he saw men of prodigious stature, skilful in all the exercises of the body, and in handling their arms; and haughty and audacious in their language, which abounded with menaces and bravadoes. He set off, in the best terms, the orders his master had given for their good reception wherever they passed, and the presents he had prepared for them: after which he invited them to advance to a certain place he mentioned, and to send their principal officers to the king. The Gauls were not a people to be put off with

words. Clondicus, the general and king of these strangers, came directly to the point; and asked, whether he had brought the sum agreed on. As no answer was given to that question. "Go," said he, "and let your prince know, that till he sends the "hostages and sums agreed on, the Gauls will not stir "from hence." The king, upon the return of his deputy, assembled his council. He foresaw what they would advise; but, as he was a much better guardian of his money than of his kingdom, to disguise his avarice, he expatiated upon the perfidy and ferocity of the Gauls; adding, that it would be dangerous to give such numbers of them entrance into Macedonia, from which every thing was to be feared, and that five thousand horse would be sufficient for him. Every body perceived that his sole apprehension was for his money; but nobody dared to contradict him. Antigonus returned to the Gauls, and told them his master had occasion for no more than five thousand horse. Upon which they raised an universal cry and murmur against Perseus, who had made them come so far merely to insult them. Clondicus having asked Antigonus again, whether he had brought the money for the five thousand horse; as the deputy sought for an evasion, and gave no direct answers, the Gauls grew furious, and were just going to cut him in pieces, and he himself was under terrible apprehensions. However, they paid respect to his quality of deputy, and dismissed him without any ill treatment of his person. The Gauls marched away immediately, resumed their route to the Danube, and plundered Thrace in their way home.

Perseus, with so considerable a reinforcement, might have given the Romans great trouble. He could have detached those Gauls into Thessaly, where they might have plundered the country, and taken the strongest places. By that means, remaining quiet about the river Enipeus, he might have put it out of the power of the Romans either to have penetrated into Macedonia, of which he might have barred

the entrance with his troops, or to have subsisted any longer in the country, because they could have drawn no provisions as before from Thessaly, which would have been entirely laid waste. The avarice by which he was governed, prevented his making any use of so great an advantage.

The same vice made him lose another of the same nature. Urged by the condition of his affairs, and the extreme danger that threatened him, he had at length consented to give Gentius the three hundred talents, which he had demanded for more than a year, for raising troops and fitting out a fleet. Pantauchus had negociated this treaty for the king of Macedonia, and had begun by paying the king of Illyria ten talents (ten thousand crowns) in part of the sum promised him. Gentius dispatched his ambassadors, and with them persons in whom he could confide, to receive the money. He directed them also, when all should be concluded, to join Perseus's ambassadors, and to go with them to Rhodes, in order to reduce that republic to form an alliance with them. Pantauchus had represented to him, that if the Rhodians came into it, Rome would not be able to make head against the three powers united. Perseus received those ambassadors with all possible marks of distinction. After the interchange of hostages, and the taking of oaths on both sides, it only remained to deliver the three hundred talents. The ambassadors and agents of the Illyrian repaired to Pella, where the money was told down to them, and put into chests, under the seal of the ambassadors, to be conveyed into Illyria. Perseus had covertly given orders to the persons charged with this convoy, to march slowly, and by short journeys, and when they arrived upon the frontiers of Macedonia to stop for his further orders. During all this time, Pantauchus, who had remained at the court of Illyria, pressed the king with great earnestness to declare against the Romans by some act of hostility. In the mean while arrived ambassadors from the Romans, to negociate an alliance with Gentius.

He had already received ten talents by way of earnest, and was informed that the whole sum was upon the road. Upon the repeated solicitations of Pantauchus, in violation of all rights human and divine, he caused the two ambassadors to be imprisoned, under pretence that they were spies. As soon as Perseus had received this news, believing him sufficiently and irretrievably engaged against the Romans by so glaring an act, he recalled those who carried the three hundred talents; congratulating himself in secret upon the good success of his perfidy, and his great dexterity in saving his money. But he did not see that he only kept it in reserve for the victor; whereas he ought to have employed it in defending himself against him, and to conquer him, according to the maxim of Philip and his son Alexander, the most illustrious of his predecessors, who used to say, "That victory "should be purchased with money, and not money "saved at the expence of victory."

The ambassadors of Perseus and Gentius met with a favourable reception at Rhodes. A decree was imparted to them, by which the republic had resolved to employ all their credit and power to oblige the two parties to make peace, and to declare against that which should refuse to accept proposals for an accommodation.

The Roman generals had each of them repaired to their posts in the beginning of the spring; the consul to Macedonia, Octavius to Oreum with the fleet, and Anicius into Illyria.

The success of the latter was as rapid as fortunate. He was to carry on the war against Gentius, and put an end to it before it was known at Rome that it was begun. Its duration was only of thirty days. Having treated Scorda, the capital of the country, which had surrendered to him, with great moderation, the other cities soon followed its example. Gentius himself was reduced to come and throw himself at Anicius's feet to implore his mercy; confessing, with tears in his eyes, his fault, or rather

folly, in having abandoned the party of the Romans. The prætor treated him with humanity. His first care was to take the two ambassadors out of prison. He sent one of them, named Perpenna, to Rome, to carry the news of his victory, and some days after caused Gentius to be conducted thither, with his mother, wife, children, brother, and the principal lords of the country. The sight of such illustrious prisoners very much augmented the people's joy. Public thanksgivings were made to the gods, and the temples were crowned with a vast concourse of persons of all sexes and ages.

When Paulus Æmilius approached the enemy, he found Perseus encamped near the sea, at the foot of mount Olympus, in places which seemed inaccessible. He had the Enipeus in front, whose banks were very high; and on the side where he lay, he had thrown up strong intrenchments, with towers at proper distances, on which were placed balistæ, and other machines for discharging darts and stones upon the enemy, if they ventured to approach. Perseus had fortified himself in such a manner, as made him believe himself entirely secure, and gave him hopes of weakening, and at last repulsing, Paulus Æmilius by length of time, and the difficulties he would find in subsisting his troops and maintaining his ground, in a country already eaten up by the enemy.

He did not know what kind of adversary he had to cope with. Paulus Æmilius employed his thoughts solely in preparing every thing for action, and was continually meditating expedients and measures for executing some enterprise with success. He began by establishing an exact and severe discipline in his army, which he found corrupted by the licentiousness in which it had been suffered to live. He reformed several things, as well with regard to the arms of the troops, as the duty of sentinels. It had been a custom amongst the soldiers to criticise their general, to examine all his actions amongst themselves, to prescribe his duties, and to point out what he

ought, or ought not, to do. He spoke to them with resolution and dignity. He gave them to understand that such discourses did not become a soldier; that he ought to make only three things his business: the care of his body, in order to render it robust and active; that of his arms, to keep them always clean, and in good condition; and that of his provisions,* that he might be always in readiness to march upon the first notice; that for the rest, he ought to rely upon the goodness of the immortal gods, and the vigilance of his general. That for himself, he should omit nothing that might be necessary to give them occasion to evince their valour; and that they had only to take care to do their duty well when the signal was given them.

It is incredible how much they were animated by this discourse. The old soldiers declared that they had never known their duty aright till that day. A surprising change was immediately observed in the camp. Nobody was idle in it. The soldiers were seen sharpening their swords, polishing their helmets, cuirasses, and shields; practising an active motion under their arms; whirling their javelins, and brandishing their naked swords; in short, forming and inuring themselves in all military exercises: so that it was easy to foresee that, upon the first opportunity they should have of coming to blows with the enemy, they were determined to conquer or die.

The camp was situated very commodiously, but wanted water, which was a great inconvenience to the army. Paulus Æmilius, whose thoughts extended to every thing, seeing mount Olympus before him very high, and covered all over with trees extremely green and flourishing, judged, from the quantity and quality of those trees, that there must be springs of water in the caverns of the mountain, and at the same time ordered openings to be made

* The Roman soldiers sometimes carried provisions for ten or twelve days.

at the foot of it, and pits to be dug in the sand. The surface* was scarce broken up, when springs of water were seen to run, muddy at first, and in small quantities, but in a little while very clear, and in great abundance. This event, though natural, was looked upon by the soldiers as a singular favour of the gods, who had taken Paulus Æmilius under their protection; and made him more beloved and respected by them than before.

When Perseus saw what passed in the Roman camp,—the ardour of the soldiers, their active behaviour, and the various exercises by which they prepared themselves for combat,—he began to be truly disquieted, and perceived plainly that he had no longer to deal with a Licinius, an Hostilius, or a Marcius; and that the Roman army was entirely changed, together with the general. He redoubled his attention and application on his side, animated his soldiers, employed himself in forming them by different exercises, added new fortifications to the old, and used all means to secure his camp from danger or insult.

In the mean time came the news of the victory in Illyria, and of the taking of the king with all his family. This caused incredible joy in the Roman army, and excited amongst the soldiers an inexpressible ardour to signalize themselves also on their side. For it is common, when two armies act in different parts, for the one to be unwilling to give place to the other, either in valour or glory. Perseus endeavoured at first to suppress this news, but his care to stifle it only served to make it more public and certain. The alarm was general amongst his troops, and made them apprehensive of the same fate.

At this time arrived the Rhodian ambassadors, who came to make the same proposals to the army in regard to peace, that at Rome had so highly

* *Vix deducta summa arena erat, cùm scaturigines turbidæ primò et tenues emicare, dein liquidam multamque fundere aquam, velut deûm dono, cœperunt. Aliquantum ea quoque res duci famæ et auctoritatis apud milites adjecit.* Liv.

offended the senate. It is easy to judge in what manner they were received in the camp. Some, in the height of their anger, were for having them dismissed with insult. The consul thought the best way to express his contempt for them, was to reply coldly, that he would give them an answer in fifteen days. To show how little he valued the pacific mediation of the Rhodians, he assembled his council to deliberate upon the means of entering upon action. It is probable that the Roman army, which the year before penetrated into Macedonia, had quitted it, and returned into Thessaly; perhaps upon account of provisions: for at present they consulted upon measures for opening a passage into Macedonia. Some, and those the oldest officers, were for attempting to force the enemy's intrenchments upon the banks of the Enipeus. They observed that the Macedonians, who the year before had been driven from higher and better fortified places, could not sustain the charge of the Roman legions. Others were of opinion that Octavius, with the fleet, should go to Thessalonica, and ravage the sea-coasts, in order to oblige the king, by that diversion, to detach part of his troops from the Enipeus for the defence of his country, and thereby leave the passage open. It is highly important for an able and experienced general to have it in his power to choose what measures he pleases. Paulus Æmilius had quite different views. He saw that the Enipeus, as well from its natural situation as from the fortifications which had been added to it, was inaccessible. He knew besides, without mentioning the machines disposed on all sides, that the enemy's troops were much more expert than his own in discharging javelins and darts. To undertake the forcing of such impenetrable lines as those were, had been to expose his troops to inevitable slaughter; and a good general spares the blood of his soldiers, because he looks upon himself as their father, and believes it his duty to preserve them as his children. He kept

quiet, therefore, for some days, without making the least movement. Plutarch says, that it was believed there never was an example of two armies so numerous, that lay so long in the presence of each other, in such profound peace and so perfect a tranquillity. At any other time the soldiers would have murmured through ardour and impatience; but Paulus Æmilius had taught them to acquiesce in the conduct of their leader.

At length, after diligent enquiry, and using all means for information, he was told by two Perrhœbian merchants, whose prudence and fidelity he had experienced, that there was a way through Perrhœbia, which led to Pythium, a town situated upon the brow of mount *Olympus: that this way was not of difficult access, but was well guarded. Perseus had sent thither a detachment of five thousand men. He conceived that, in causing an attack to be made in the night, and at unawares, by good troops, the enemy might be beaten from this post, and he take possession of it. It was necessary therefore to amuse the enemy, and to conceal his real design. He sent for the prætor Octavius, and having imparted his plan to him, he ordered him to go with his fleet to Heraclea, and to take ten days' provisions with him for a thousand men; in order to make Perseus believe that he was going to ravage the sea-coasts. At the same time he made his son Fabius Maximus, then very young, with Scipio Nasica, the son-in-law of Scipio Africanus, set out: he gave them a detachment of five thousand chosen troops, and ordered them to march by the sea-side towards Heraclea, as if they were to embark there, according to what had been proposed in the council. When they arrived there, the prætor told them the consul's orders. As soon as it was night, quitting their

* The perpendicular height of mount Olympus, where Pythium was situated, was upwards of ten stadia, or a mile and a quarter.

route by the coast, they advanced without halting towards Pythium, over the mountains and rocks, conducted by the two Perrhœbian guides. It had been concluded that they should arrive there the third day, before it was light.

In the mean time Paulus Æmilius, to amuse the enemy, and prevent his having any other thoughts, the next day in the morning detached his light-armed troops, as if he intended to attack the Macedonians. They came to a slight engagement in the very channel of the river, which was then very low. The banks on each side, from the top to the bed of the river, had a declivity of three hundred paces, and the stream was a thousand paces broad. The action passed in the sight of the king and consul, who were each with his troops in the front of their camps. The consul caused the retreat to be sounded towards noon. The loss was almost equal on both sides. The next day the battle was renewed in the same manner, and almost at the same hour; but it was warmer, and continued longer. The Romans had not only those upon their hands with whom they fought; but the enemy, from the tops of the towers placed along the banks, poured volleys of darts and stones upon them. The consul lost many more of his people this day, and made them retire late. The third day Paulus Æmilius lay still, and seemed to design to attempt a passage near the sea. Perseus did not suspect in the least the danger that threatened him.

Scipio had arrived in the night of the third day near Pythium. His troops were very much fatigued, for which reason he made them rest themselves the remainder of the night. Perseus in the mean time was very quiet. But on a sudden a Cretan deserter, who had gone off from Scipio's troops, roused him from his security, by letting him know the compass the Romans had taken to surprise him. The king, terrified with the news, detached immediately ten thousand foreign soldiers, with two thousand Macedo-

nians, under the command of Milo, and ordered them with all possible diligence to take possession of an eminence, which the Romans had still to pass before they arrived at Pythium. He accordingly got thither before them. A very severe engagement ensued upon this eminence, and the victory was for some time in suspense. But the king's detachment at length gave way on all sides, and were put to the rout. Scipio pursued them vigorously, and led his victorious troops into the plain.

When those who fled came to the camp of Perseus, they occasioned so great a terror in it, that he immediately decamped, and retired by his rear, overwhelmed with terror, and almost in despair. He held a great council, to deliberate upon the measures he was to pursue. The question was, whether it was best to halt under the walls of Pydna, to try the chance of a battle, or to divide his troops among his towns, supply them well with provisions, and expect the enemy there, who could not subsist long in a country, which he would take care to lay waste, and which could furnish neither forage for the horse, nor provisions for the men. The latter resolution was attended with great inconveniences, and betokened a prince reduced to the last extremity, and destitute of either hope or resource; not to mention the hatred he would draw upon himself by ruining the country, which was to be not only commanded but executed in person by the king himself. Whilst Perseus, uncertain what to resolve, fluctuated in doubt, the principal officers represented to him, that his army was much superior to that of the Romans; that his troops were determined to behave well, having their wives and children to defend; that being himself witness of all their actions, and fighting at their head, they would behave with double ardour, and give proofs of their valour in emulation of each other. These reasons reanimated the prince. He retired under the walls of Pydna, where he encamped, and prepared for a battle. He forgot nothing that might conduce to the advantage of his ground, assigned

every one his post, and gave all his orders with great presence of mind; resolved to attack the Romans as soon as they appeared.

The place where he encamped was a bare level country, very fit for drawing up a great body of heavy-armed foot in battle. Upon the right and left there was a ridge of little hills, which, joining together, gave the light-armed foot and the archers a secure retreat, and also afforded them the means of concealing their march to surround the enemy, and to charge them in flank. The whole front of the army was covered by two small rivers, which had not much water at that time, in consequence of the season (for it was then about the end of summer), but whose steep banks would give the Romans great trouble, and break their ranks.

Paulus Æmilius being arrived at Pythium, and having joined Scipio's detachment, marched down into the plain, and advanced in order of battle against the enemy; keeping always on the sea-coast, for the convenience of having provisions brought in barks from the Roman fleet. But when he came in view of the Macedonians, and had considered the good disposition of their army, and the number of their troops, he halted, to deliberate upon what he had to do.

The young officers, full of ardour and impatience for the battle, advanced at the head of the troops, and came to him to entreat him to give battle without any delay. Scipio, whose boldness was increased by his late success upon mount Olympus, distinguished himself above all the rest by his earnestness, and the urgency of his request. He represented to him that the generals, his predecessors, had suffered the enemy to escape out of their hands by delays. That he was afraid Perseus would fly in the night, and they should be obliged to pursue him, with great danger and difficulty, to the remotest parts of his kingdom, in making the army take great compasses through defiles and forests, as had

happened in the preceding years. He advised him, therefore, whilst the enemy was in the open field, to attack him immediately, and not to let slip so fair occasion of conquering him.

"Formerly (replied the consul to young Scipio), "I thought as you do now, and one day you will "think as I do. I shall give you the reasons of my "conduct another time; at present, rely upon the "discretion of an old general." The young officer was silent, well convinced that the consul had good reasons for acting as he did.

After having spoken thus, he commanded the troops who were at the head of the army, in view of the enemy, to draw up in order of battle, and to present a front, as if they intended to engage. They were disposed, according to the custom of the Romans, [P] in three lines: at the same time the pioneers, covered by those lines, were employed in forming a camp. As they were a great number, the work was soon completed. The consul then made the battalions file off gradually, beginning with the rear, which was nearest the workmen, and drew off the whole army into the intrenchments, without confusion, disorder, or being perceived by the enemy. The king, on his side, seeing the Romans declined fighting, retired also into his camp.

It was an inviolable law * amongst the Romans, though they were to stay only one day or night in a place, to enclose themselves in a well-fortified camp: by that means they placed themselves out of the reach of insult, and avoided all surprise. The soldiers looked upon this military abode as their city; the intrenchments served instead of walls, and the tents, of houses. In case of a battle, if the army were overcome, the

[P] Hastati. Principes. Triarii.

* *Majores vestri castra munita portum ad omnes casus exercitûs ducebant esse.—Patria altera est militaris hæc sedes, vallumque pro mœnibus et tentorium suum cuique militi domus ac penates sunt—Castra sunt victori receptaculum, victo perfugium.* Liv. l. xliv. n. 39.

camp served for their retreat and refuge; and, if victorious, they found it a place of quiet and security.

The night being come, and the troops having taken their refreshment; whilst they had no other thoughts than of going to rest, on a sudden the moon, which was then at full, and already very high, began to grow dark; and the light failing by little and little, it changed its colour several times, and was at length totally eclipsed. A tribune, called C. Sulpitius Gallus, one of the principal officers of the army, having assembled the soldiers the day before with the consul's permission, had apprised them of the eclipse, and pointed out to them the exact moment when it would begin, and how long it would continue. The Roman soldiers therefore were not astonished at this accident; they only believed that Sulpitius had more than human knowledge. But the whole camp of the Macedonians were seized with horror and dread; and it was whispered throughout all the army, that this prodigy foretold the ruin of the king.

The next day Paulus Æmilius, who was a very religious observer of all the ceremonies prescribed for the sacrifices, or rather very superstitious, employed himself in offering oxen to Hercules. He sacrificed twenty, one after another, without finding any favourable sign in the entrails of those victims. At length, at the one-and-twentieth, he imagined he saw such as promised him the victory, if he only defended himself, without attacking the enemy. At the same time he vowed a sacrifice to the same god of a hundred oxen, with public games. Having made an end of all these religious ceremonies, about nine in the morning he assembled his council. He had heard complaints of his slowness in attacking the enemy. He was anxious therefore to give this assembly an account of his conduct, especially out of regard for Scipio, to whom he had promised

it. The reasons for his not having given battle the day before, were, first, because the enemy's army was much superior in number to his own, which he had been obliged to weaken considerably by the great detachmant requisite to guard the baggage. In the second place, would it have been consistent with prudence to engage troops entirely fresh, with his, exhausted as they were by a long and painful march, by the excessive weight of their arms, by the heat of the sun, with which they had been almost broiled, and by thirst, which gave them almost insupportable pain? In the last place, he insisted strongly on the indispensable necessity a good general was under, not to fight till he had a well intrenched camp behind him, which might, in case of accident, serve the army for a retreat. He concluded his discourse with bidding them prepare for battle the same day.

We see here,* that there is a wide difference between the duty of soldiers and subaltern officers, and that of a general: the former have only to desire to engage, and behave well in battle; but the general's business is to foresee, weigh, and compare every thing, in order to choose his measures with mature deliberation; and frequently by a wise delay of some days, or even hours, he preserves an army, which an inconsiderate precipitation might have exposed to ruin.

Though the resolution for fighting had been taken on both sides, it was, however, rather a kind of chance that drew on the battle, than the order of the generals, who were not in great haste on either side. Some Thracian soldiers charged a party of Romans in their return from foraging. Seven hundred Ligurians ran to assist those foragers. The Macedonians caused troops to advance, to support

* *Divisa inter exercitum ducesque munia. Militibus cupidinem pugnandi convenire; duces providendo, consultando, cunctatione sæpiùs quàm temeritate prodesse.* Tacit. Hist. l. iii. c. 20.

the Thracians; and the reinforcements on both sides continually increasing, the battle at length became general.

It is a misfortune that we have lost the passage of Polybius, and after him of Livy, which describes the order of this battle: this puts it out of my power to give a just idea of it, what Plutarch says being quite different from the little which remains of it in Livy.

In the beginning of the charge, the Macedonian phalanx distinguished themselves from all the king's troops in a particular manner. Upon which Paulus Æmilius advanced to the front ranks, and found, that the Macedonians, who formed the head of the phalanx, drove the points of their pikes into the shields of his soldiers in such a manner, that the latter, in spite of all their efforts, were unable to reach them with their swords; and he saw, at the same time, that the whole front line of the enemies joined their bucklers, and presented their pikes. This rampart of brass and forest of pikes, impenetrable to his legions, filled him with astonishment and terror. He often spoke afterwards of the impression that dreadful sight made upon him, so strong as to make him doubt the success of the battle. But not to discourage his troops, he concealed from them his anxiety; and appearing with a gay and serene countenance, rode through all the ranks without helmet or cuirass, animating them with his expressions, and much more by his example. The general, more than sixty years of age, was seen exposing himself to danger and fatigue like a young officer.

The Pelignians, a people of Italy, who had attacked the Macedonian phalanx, not being able to break it with their utmost endeavours, one of their officers took the standard of his company, and tossed it into the midst of the enemy. The rest threw themselves, in consequence, like desperate men, upon that battalion. Astonishing actions of valour ensued on both

sides, with a most dreadful slaughter. The Pelignians endeavoured to cut the pikes of the Macedonians with their swords, or to push them back with their bucklers; striving sometimes to pull them out of their hands, or to turn them aside, in order to open themselves an entrance between them. But the Macedonians always keeping close order, and holding their pikes in both hands, presented that iron rampart, and gave such violent strokes to those that rushed upon them, that, piercing shields and cuirasses, they laid the boldest of the Pelignians dead, who, without any caution, continued to throw themselves headlong, like wild beasts, upon the spears of their enemies, and to rush upon a death they saw before their eyes.

The whole front line being thus put into disorder, the second was discouraged, and began to fall back. They did not indeed fly; but, instead of advancing, they retreated toward mount Olocris.* When Paulus Æmilius saw that, he tore his clothes, and was struck with extreme sorrow to see, upon the first troops having given way, that the Romans were afraid to face the phalanx. It presented a front covered thick with pikes, and close as an impenetrable intrenchment; and continuing invincible, it could neither be broken nor opened. But at length the inequality of the ground, and the great extent of the front of battle, not admitting the enemy to continue every where that line of bucklers and pikes, Paulus Æmilius observed the Macedonian phalanx was obliged to leave openings and intervals, and that it fell back on one side, whilst it advanced on the other; as must necessarily happen in great armies, when the troops, not always acting with the same vigour, fight also with different success.

Paulus Æmilius, as an able general, who knew how to improve all advantages, dividing his troops into platoons, gave orders for them to fall into the

* That mountain was probably part of Olympus.

void spaces of the enemy's line, and to attack them no longer in front by a general charge, but by small detachments, and in different places at the same time. This order so critically given, occasioned the gaining of the battle. The Romans immediately fell into the void spaces, and thereby put it out of the enemy's power to use their long pikes, charging them in flank and rear, where they were uncovered. The phalanx was broken in an instant; and all its force, which consisted solely in its union and the weight of the whole body together, vanished and disappeared. When they came to fight man to man, or platoon to platoon, the Macedonians with their short swords struck upon the Roman shields, which were very strong and solid, and covered them almost from head to foot; and on the contrary, they opposed only small bucklers against the swords of the Romans, which were heavy and strong, and handled with such force and vigour, that they scarce discharged a blow which did not either cut deep, or make shields and armour fly in pieces, and draw blood. The phalanx having lost their advantage, and being taken on their weak side, stood their ground with great difficulty, and were at length overthrown.

The king of Macedonia, abandoning himself to his fear, rode off full speed in the beginning of the battle, and retired into the city of Pydna, under pretence of going to offer a sacrifice to Hercules; as if, says Plutarch, Hercules were a god that would receive the sacrifices of abject cowards, or give ear to unjust vows; for it is not just that he should be victorious, who durst not face his enemy: whereas the same god received the prayer of Paulus Æmilius, because he asked victory with sword in hand, and invoked his aid while he fought valiantly.

It was in the attack of the phalanx where the battle was warmest, and where the Romans found the greatest resistance. It was there also, that the son of Cato, Paulus Æmilius's son-in-law, after

having done prodigies of valour, unhappily lost his sword, which slipped out of his hand. Upon this accident, quite distracted and inconsolable, he ran through the ranks, and assembling a body of brave and resolute young soldiers, he rushed headlong and furious upon the Macedonians. After extraordinary efforts, and a most bloody slaughter, they made the latter give way; and remaining masters of the ground, they proceeded to search for the sword, which they found at last with great difficulty under heaps of arms and dead bodies. Transported with that good fortune, and raising shouts of victory, they fell with new ardour upon such of the enemy as yet stood firm; so that at length the three thousand Macedonians who remained, and were a distinct body from the phalanx, were entirely cut to pieces; not a man of them quitting his rank, or ceasing to fight to the last moment of his life.

After the defeat of this body, all the rest fled; and so great a number of them were killed, that the whole plain, to the foot of the mountain, was covered with the dead; and the next day, when the Romans passed the river Leucus, they found the waters still stained with blood. It is said that upwards of five-and-twenty thousand men on the side of the Macedonians perished in this battle. The Romans lost only a hundred, and made eleven or twelve thousand prisoners. The cavalry, which had no share in this battle, seeing the foot put to the rout, had retired; and the Romans, whose fury was principally directed against the phalanx, did not think at that time of pursuing them.

This great battle was decided so suddenly, that the charge, which began at three in the afternoon, was followed by the victory before four. The rest of the day was employed in the pursuit, which was carried very far; so that the troops did not return till late in the night. All the servants in the army went out to meet their masters with great shouts of joy, and conducted them with torches to the camp;

where they had made illuminations, and covered the tents with wreaths of ivy* and crowns of laurel.

But in the midst of his great victory, the general was in extreme affliction. Of the two sons he had in the battle, the youngest, who was but seventeen years old, and whom he loved with most tenderness, because he had already given great hopes of himself, did not appear. The camp was in an universal alarm, and the cries of joy were changed into a mournful silence. They searched for him with torches amongst the dead, but to no purpose. At length, when the night was very far advanced, and they despaired of ever seeing him more, he returned from the pursuit, attended by only two or three of his comrades, all covered with the blood of the enemy. Paulus Æmilius thought he had recovered him from the dead, and did not begin to taste the joy of his victory till that moment. He was reserved for other tears, and losses no less to be deplored. The young Roman, of whom we speak, was the second Scipio, who was afterwards called Africanus, and Numantinus, from having destroyed Carthage and Numantia. He was adopted by the son of Scipio, the conqueror of Hannibal. The consul immediately dispatched three couriers of distinction (of whom his son Fabius was one) to carry the news of this victory to Rome.

In the mean time, Perseus, continuing his flight, had passed the city of Pydna, and endeavoured to gain Pella, with all his cavalry, which had escaped from the battle without striking a blow. The foot-soldiers that fled in disorder, meeting them upon the road, reproached them in the sharpest terms, calling them cowards and traitors; and carrying their resentment further, they pulled them off their horses, and wounded a great number of them. The king, who dreaded the consequence of that tumult, quitted

* This was a custom among the Romans. Cæsar writes in the third book of the civil war, that he found in Pompey's camp the tents of Lentulus, and some others, covered with ivy. *L. etiam Lentuli et nonnullorum tabernacula protecta hederâ.*

the high road, and, that he might not be known, folded up his royal mantle, put it behind him, took the diadem from his head, and carried it in his hand; and, in order to discourse with his friends with the more ease, he alighted, and led his horse in his hand. Several of those who attended him took different routes from his, under various pretexts; less to avoid the pursuit of the enemy, than to shun the fury of their prince, whose defeat had only served to irritate and inflame his natural ferocity. Of all his courtiers, three only remained with him, and those all foreigners. Evander of Crete, whom he had employed to assassinate king Eumenes, was one of them. He retained his fidelity for him to the last.

When he arrived about midnight in Pella, he stabbed two of his treasurers with his own hands, for being so bold as to represent to him the faults he had committed, and with ill-timed freedom, to give him their advice upon what was necessary to be done for the retrieving his affairs. This cruel treatment of two of the principal officers of his court, who had failed only out of an imprudent and ill-timed zeal, entirely lost him the affection of every one. Alarmed by the almost universal desertion of his officers and courtiers, he did not think himself safe at Pella, and left it the same night to go to Amphipolis, carrying along with him the greatest part of his treasures. When he arrived there, he sent deputies to Paulus Æmilius, to implore his mercy. From Amphipolis he went into the island of Samothracia, and took refuge in the temple of Castor and Pollux. All the cities of Macedonia opened their gates to the victor, and made their submission.

The consul having quitted Pydna, arrived the next day at Pella, the happy situation of which he admired. The king's treasures had been kept in this city; but only the three hundred talents he had sent to Gentius, king of Thrace, and afterwards caused to be brought back, were found there. Paulus Æmilius, having been informed that Perseus was in

Samothracia, repaired to Amphipolis, in order to pass from thence into that island.

He was encamped[q] at Siræ,* in the country of the Odomantes, when he received a letter from Perseus, which was presented to him by three deputies of inconsiderable birth and condition. He could not forbear shedding tears when he reflected upon the uncertainty of human affairs, of which the present condition of Perseus was a sensible example. But when he saw this title and inscription upon the letter, "Perseus the king, to the consul Paulus Æmi-"lius, greeting;" the stupid ignorance of his condition in which that prince seemed to be, extinguished in him all sense of compassion; and though the tenor of the letter was couched in an humble and suppliant style, and little consistent with the royal dignity, he dismissed the deputies without an answer. How haughty were these proud republicans, to degrade an unfortunate king immediately in this manner! Perseus perceived what name he was henceforth to forget. He wrote a second letter, to which he only put his name, without the addition of his quality. He demanded, that commissioners should be sent to treat with him, which was granted. This negociation had no effect, because, on the one side, Perseus would not renounce the royal dignity, and Paulus Æmilius, on the other, insisted, that he should submit his fate entirely to the determination of the Roman people.

During this time the prætor Octavius, who commanded the fleet, arrived at Samothracia. He did not take Perseus by force out of that asylum, through respect to the gods who presided in it; but he endeavoured by promises and threats to induce him to quit it, and surrender himself to the Romans. His endeavours were ineffectual.

[q] Liv. l. xlv. n. 3—9. Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 269, 270.

* An obscure unknown city, upon the eastern frontier of Macedonia.

A young Roman (named Acilius,) either of his own accord, or in concert with the prætor, took another course to draw the king out of his sanctuary. Having entered the assembly of the Samothracians, which was then held, he said to them: "Is it a truth, or is it with-"out any foundation, that your island is held a sacred "and inviolable asylum throughout all its extent?" Upon being answered by all present, that it was undoubtedly so; "How then (continued he) do you "suffer its sanctity to be violated by a homicide, "contaminated with the blood of king Eumenes? "And as all religious ceremonies begin by the ex-"clusion of those whose hands are impure, how can "you suffer your temple to be profaned and de-"filed by the presence of an infamous murderer?" This accusation was directed against Perseus; but the Samothracians chose rather to apply it to Evander, whom all the world knew to have been the agent in the intended assassination of Eumenes. They sent therefore to tell the king, that Evander was accused of assassination, and that he must appear, according to the custom of their sanctuary, to justify himself before the judges; or, if he was afraid to do that, that he should take measures for his safety, and quit the temple. The king, having sent for Evander, advised him in the strongest terms not to submit to that trial. He had his reasons for giving this advice, apprehending he would declare, that the assassination had been undertaken by his order. He therefore gave him to understand, that the only method he could take was to kill himself. Evander seemed at first to consent to it, and professing that he had rather die by poison than the sword, he intended to make his escape by flight. The king was aware of that design, and fearing the Samothracians would let the weight of their resentment fall on him, as having withdrawn the offender from the punishment he deserved, he ordered him to be killed. This was polluting the sanctuary with a new crime; but he corrupted the principal magistrate with presents of

money, who declared in the assembly, that Evander had laid violent hands upon himself.

The prætor, not being able to persuade Perseus to quit his asylum, could do no more than deprive him of all means to embark and make his escape. However, notwithstanding his precautions, Perseus gained secretly a certain Cretan, called Oroandes, who had a merchant ship, and prevailed upon him to receive him on board, with all his treasures; they amounted to two thousand talents, that is, to about three hundred thousand pounds. But, from his extreme suspicion, he did not dispossess himself of the whole; he sent only a part of it to the ship, and reserved the rest of it to be carried on board with himself. The Cretan, following the genius of his country upon this occasion, shipped all the gold and silver that had been sent him in the evening, and let Perseus know, that he had only to come to the port at midnight with his children, and such of his people as were absolutely necessary to attend his person.

The appointed time approaching, Perseus, with infinite difficulty, crept through a very narrow window, crossed a garden and got out through a ruinous house, with his wife and son. The remainder of his treasures followed him. His grief and despair were inexpressible, when he was informed that Oroandes, with his rich freight, was under sail. He was therefore compelled to return to his asylum with his wife and Philip his eldest son. He had intrusted his other children to Ion of Thessalonica, who had been his favourite, and who betrayed him in his misfortunes; for he delivered up his children to Octavius; which was the principal cause that induced Perseus to put himself into the power of those who had his children in their hands.

He accordingly surrendered himself and Philip his son to the prætor Octavius, who made him embark, in order to his being carried to the consul; having first apprised him of his coming. Paulus Æmilius sent his son-in-law Tubero to meet him. Perseus

in a mourning habit, entered the camp, attended only by his son. The consul, who waited for him with a sufficiently numerous train, seeing him approach, rose from his seat, and advancing some few steps, offered him his hand. Perseus threw himself at his feet; but he raised him immediately, and would not suffer him to embrace his knees. Having introduced him into his tent, he made him sit down, facing those who formed the assembly.

He began by asking him: "What cause of dis-"content had induced him to enter with so much "animosity into a war with the Roman people, that "exposed himself and his kingdom to the greatest "dangers?" As, instead of the answer which every body expected, the king, fixing his eyes upon the ground, and shedding tears, kept silence; Paulus Æmilus continued to this effect; "Had you as-"cended the throne a youth, I should be less sur-"prised at your being ignorant of what it was to "have the Roman people for your friends or enemies. "But having been present in the war made by your "father against us, and certainly remembering the "peace, which we have punctually observed on our "side, how could you prefer war, rather than peace, "with a people, whose force in the former, and fide-"lity in the latter, you had so well experienced?" Perseus making no more answer to this reproach than he had done to the first question: "In whatso-"ever manner, notwithstanding (resumed the con-"sul) these affairs have happened, whether they are "the effects of error, to which all mankind are "liable, or of chance, or of that fatal destiny which "superintends all things, take courage. The cle-"mency with which the Roman people have be-"haved towards many other kings and nations, "ought to inspire you, I do not say with some hope "only, but with almost entire confidence that you "will meet with the same treatment." He spoke "this in Greek to Peresus: then turning towards the Romans, "You* see (said he in his own language)

* *Exemplum insigne cernitis*, inquit, *mutationis rerum humanarum.*

" a great example of the inconstancy of human af-
" fairs. It is to you principally, young Romans, I
" address this discourse. The uncertainty of what
" may happen to us every day, ought to teach us
" never to treat any one with insolence and cruelty in
" our prosperity, nor rely too much upon our pre-
" sent advantages. The proof of real merit and true
" valour is neither to be too elate in good, nor too
" dejected in bad fortune." Paulus Æmilius having dismissed the assembly, charged Tubero with the care of the king. He invited him that day to his table, and ordered him to be treated with all the honours his present condition would admit.

The army went afterwards into winter-quarters. Amphipolis received the greatest part of the troops; the rest were distributed into the neighbouring cities. Thus ended the war between the Romans and Perseus, which had continued four years; and with it a kingdom so illustrious both in Europe and Asia. Perseus, had [r] reigned eleven years. He was reckoned the * fortieth king from Caranus, who was the first that reigned in Macedonia. So important a conquest cost Paulus Æmilius only fifteen days.

The kingdom of Macedonia had been very obscure till the time of Philip, son of Amyntas. Under that prince, and by his great exploits, it made considerable acquisitions, which did not extend, however, beyond the bounds of Europe; he annexed to it a part of Thrace and Illyria, and acquired a kind of empire over all Greece. It afterwards extended into Asia: and in the thirteen years of the reign of Alexander subjected all the provinces, of which the vast empire of the Persians was composed, and carried its

Vobis hoc præcipuè dico, juvenes. Ideò in secundis rebus nihil in quemquam superbè ac violenter consulere decet, nec præsenti credere fortunæ, cùm quid vesper ferat, incertum sit. Is demum vir erit, cujus animum nec prospera flatu suo efferet, nec adversa infringet. Liv.

[r] Liv. l. xlv. n. 4.

* Livy, such as we have him, says the *twentieth*. Justin the *thirtieth*. It is thought there is an error in the cipher, and that it should be corrected, the *fortieth*, as in Eusebius.

victorious arms to the extremities of the earth; I mean, to Arabia on one side, and the Indies on the other. This empire of Macedonia, the greatest in the world, divided, or rather torn into different kingdoms after the death of Alexander, by his successors, who each took part to himself, subsisted during something more than a hundred and fifty years: from the exalted height to which the victorious arms of that prince had raised it, to the entire ruin of Macedonia. Such was the period of the so much boasted exploits of that famous conqueror, the terror and admiration of the universe; or, to speak more justly the example of the most vain and most frantic ambition the world ever knew.

The three deputies whom Paulus Æmilius had sent to Rome, to carry thither the news of his victory over Perseus, used all possible diligence on their journey. But long before their arrival, and only the fourth day after the battle, whilst the games were celebrating in the Circus, it was whispered about, that a battle had been fought in Macedonia, and Perseus entirely defeated. This news was attended with clapping of hands and cries of victory throughout the whole Circus. But when the magistrates, after a strict enquiry, had discovered that it was a rumour without either author or foundation, that false and short-lived joy ceased, and left only a secret hope, that it was perhaps the presage of a victory, which either was already, or would soon be obtained.

The arrival of the deputies put Rome out of pain. They were informed, that Perseus had been entirely defeated; that he was flying, and could not escape falling into the hands of the victor. The people's joy, which had been suspended till then, broke out immoderately. The deputies read a circumstantial narrative of the battle, first in the senate, and afterwards in the assembly of the people. Public prayers and sacrifices were decreed, and all the temples filled in an instant with infinite crowds of people, of every age and sex, who went thither to return

thanks to the gods for the signal protection which they had vouchsafed to the republic.

A. M. 3837. Ant. J. C. 167. After the nomination of new consuls at Rome, the command of the army in Macedonia was continued to Paulus Æmilius, and of that in Illyria to L. Anicius: ten commissioners were then appointed to regulate affairs in Macedonia, and five for Illyria. The senate, before they set out, regulated their commission in part. It was decreed in particular, that the Macedonians and Illyrians should be declared free, in order that all nations might know, that the end of the Roman arms was not to subject free people, but to deliver such as were enslaved; so that the one under the protection of the Roman name, might always retain their liberty, and the other who were under the rule of kings, might be treated with more lenity and justice by them through consideration for the Romans, or that, whenever war should arise between those kings and the Roman people, the nations might know that the issue of those wars would be victory for the Romans and liberty for them. The senate also abolished certain duties upon the mines and landed estates, because those duties could not be collected but by the intervention of farmers of the taxes, commonly called publicans; and that wherever such sort* of farmers are suffered, the laws are of no force, and the people are always oppressed. They established a general council for the nation, lest the populace should cause the liberty granted them by the senate to degenerate into a destructive licentiousness. Macedonia was divided into four regions, each of which was to have a distinct council, and to pay the Romans one moiety of the tributes which they had been accustomed to pay their kings. These were in part the orders with which the commissioners of Macedonia were charged. Those for Illyria had almost the same

[a] Liv. l. xlv. n. 17, 18.

* *Et ubi publicanus est, ibi aut jus publicum vanum aut libertatem sociis nullam esse.* Liv.

instructions, and arrived there first. After having communicated their commission to the pro-prætor Anicius, who came to Scodra to meet them, they summoned an assembly of the principal persons of the nation. Anicius having ascended his tribunal, declared to them, that the senate and people of Rome granted liberty to the Illyrians, and that the garrison should be withdrawn from all the cities and forts of the country as soon as possible. As to some nations, who either before or during the war had declared for the Romans, an exemption from all taxes was added to their liberty; and all the rest were exonerated from one half of the imposts formerly paid to the king. Illyria was divided into three regions or parts, which had each of them their public council and magistrates.

Before the deputies for Macedonia [t] arrived there, Paulus Æmilius, who was at leisure, visited, during the autumn, the most celebrated cities of Greece, to see those things with his own eyes which all the world talked of, without knowing them. Having left the command of the camp to Sulpicius Gallus, he set out with a small train, accompanied by young Scipio his son, and Athenæus, king Eumenes's brother.

He passed through Thessaly in his way to Delphi, the most celebrated oracle in the universe. The multitude and value of the presents, statues, vases, and tripods, with which that temple was filled, surprised him extremely. He there offered a sacrifice to Apollo. Having seen a great square pillar of white marble, on which a golden statue of Perseus was to have been placed, he caused his own to be set upon it, saying, "That the vanquished ought to "give place to the victors."

He saw at Lebadia the temple of Jupiter, surnamed Trophonius, and the entrance of the cavern, into which those who consulted the * oracle descended.

[t] Liv. l. xlv. n. 27, 28. Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 270.

* For an account of this oracle, see Book x. Chap. iii. Sect. ii.

He offered a sacrifice to Jupiter, and the goddess Hercynna, who was believed to be the daughter of Trophonius.

At Chalcis he gratified his curiosity in seeing the Euripus, and the ebb and flow of the sea, which is very frequent and extraordinary.

From thence he went to the city of Aulis, from which port the famous fleet of Agamemnon formerly set sail for Troy. He made a visit to the temple of Diana in that place, upon whose altar that king of kings sacrificed his daughter Iphigenia, to obtain a prosperous voyage from the goddess.

After having passed through Oropus in Attica, where the soothsayer Amphilocus was honoured as a god, he came to Athens, a city celebrated for its ancient renown, where abundance of objects presented themselves to his view, well capable of inspiring and gratifying his curiosity: the citadel, the ports, the walls which joined the Piræeus to the city, the arsenals for the navy, erected by illustrious generals, the statues of gods and men, in which it was hard to know whether the materials or art were most worthy of admiration. He did not forget to offer a sacrifice to Minerva, the tutelary goddess of the citadel.

Whilst Paulus Æmilius was in that city, he demanded of the Athenians an excellent philosopher to finish the education of his children, and a skilful painter to design the ornaments of his triumph. They immediately cast their eyes upon Metrodorus, who excelled both in philosophy and painting; a very singular and extraordinary praise, which was confirmed by experience, and the approbation of Paulus Æmilius. We here see the attention paid by the great men of antiquity to the education of their children. The sons of that Roman general were then of some age, the youngest of the two, who made the campaign in Macedonia with his father, being at that time seventeen years old. He thought it necessary, however, to have a philosopher with them, capable of forming both their minds by the study of the sciences,

and their manners by that of moral virtue, which of all studies is the most important, and yet the most neglected. If we are anxious to know the effects of such an education, we have only to call to mind the demeanor of the youngest of the two sons of this consul, who inherited the name and merit of Scipio Africanus, his grandfather by adoption, and of Paulus Æmilius, his natural father: who ruined Carthage and Numantia; who distinguished himself as much by his acquaintance with polite learning and the sciences, as by his military valour; who reckoned it an honour to have Polybius the historian, Panætius the philosopher, and Terence the poet, for his friends and companions; who, in a word, to use the terms of a very judicious * writer, never said, did, or thought, any thing unworthy of a Roman. Paulus Æmilius having found the precious treasure he sought, in the person of Metrodorus, left Athens well satisfied.

He arrived in two days at Corinth. The citadel and isthmus were an agreeable sight to him: the first, which was situated upon the top of a mountain, abounded with streams and fountains of exceedingly pure water; and the isthmus, which separated by a very narrow neck of land two neighbouring seas, the one on the east, and the other on the west of it.

Sicyon and Argos, two very illustrious cities, were the next in his way; and afterwards Epidaurus, less opulent than the two others, but well known from the famous temple of Æsculapius, where at that time were to be seen an infinite multitude of rich presents, the offerings of sick persons, out of gratitude for the cures they imagined they had received from that god.

Sparta was not distinguished by the magnificence of its buildings, but by the wisdom of its laws, customs, and discipline.

Having taken Megalopolis in his way, he arrived

* *P. Scipio Æmilianus, vir avitis P. Africani paternisque L. Pauli virtutibus simillimus; omnibus belli ac togæ dotibus, ingeniique ac studiorum eminentissimus seculi sui, qui nihil in vitâ nisi laudandum aut fecit, aut dixit, ac sensit.* Paterc. l. i. c. 12.

at Olympia, where he saw abundance of things worthy of admiration; but when he cast his eyes upon the statue of Jupiter, Phidias's master-piece, he was as much struck, says Livy, as if he had seen the god himself, and cried out, that "This Jupiter of Phidias was the exact Jupiter of Homer." * Imagining himself in the Capitol, he offered a more solemn sacrifice here than he had done any where else.

Having made the tour of Greece in this manner, without giving himself any trouble to know people's thoughts in regard to Perseus, that he might avoid giving the allies any cause of discontent, he returned to Demetrias. He had met on his way a number of Ætolians, who came to inform him of an unhappy accident which had befallen their city. He ordered them to attend him at Amphipolis. Having received advice that the ten commissioners had already passed the sea, he quitted all other affairs, and went to meet them at Apollonia, which was only one day's journey from Amphipolis. He was very much surprised to meet Perseus there, whom his guards suffered to go about with abundance of liberty, for which he afterwards warmly reproved Sulpicius, to whose care he had confided that important prisoner. He put him, with Philip his son, into the hands of Posthumius, with orders to guard him better. As for his daughter and younger son, he caused them to be brought from Samothracia to Amphipolis, where he ordered such care to be taken of them as their birth and condition required.

The commissioners [u] being come thither, as had been agreed on by them, and having entered the chamber of the assembly, where a great number of Macedonians were present, he took his seat on his tribunal, and after having caused silence to be proclaimed by the crier, Paulus Æmilius repeated in

[u] Liv. l. xlv. n. 29, 30.

* To have so well expressed the idea of Homer, is highly to the praise of Phidias; but the having so well conceived all the majesty of the god, is much more to that of Homer.

Latin the regulations made by the senate and by himself, in conjunction with the commissioners, relating to Macedonia. The principal articles were, That Macedonia was declared free: that it should pay the Romans one half the tribute paid the king, which was fixed at the sum of a hundred talents, or a hundred thousand crowns: that it should have a public council composed of a certain number of senators, wherein all affairs should be discussed and adjudged: that it should be divided for the future into four regions or districts, that should each have their council, in which their particular affairs should be examined: and that no person should contract marriage, or purchase lands or houses, out of their own district. Several other articles of less importance were annexed to these. The prætor Octavius, who was present in this assembly, explained the several articles in Greek, as Paulus Æmilius pronounced them in Latin. The article of liberty, and that of the diminution of tribute, gave the Macedonians exceeding pleasure, who little expected them: but they looked upon the division of Macedonia into different regions, that were not to have their usual intercourse with each other, like the rending a body in pieces, by separating its members, which have no life, nor subsist, but in their mutual support of each other.

The consul[x] afterwards gave audience to the Ætolians. I shall relate elsewhere the subject of it.

After those foreign affairs were settled,[y] Paulus Æmilius recalled the Macedonians into the assembly, in order to put the last hand to his regulations. He spoke at first on the subject of the senators who were to compose the public council, wherein the national affairs were to be transacted, and the choice of them was left to the people. A list was then read of the principal persons of the country, who were to be sent into Italy with such of their children as had attained the age of fifteen. This article seemed very hard at

[x] Liv. l. xlv. n. 31. [y] Ibid. n. 32.

first; but it was soon perceived, that it had been resolved upon only for the better security of the people's liberty. For this list included the great lords, generals of the army, commanders of the fleet, all such as had any offices at the court, or had been employed in embassies, with many other officers accustomed to pay their court to the king in the abject manner of slaves, and to command others with insolence. These were all rich persons, who lived at a great expence, had magnificent equipages, and would not easily be reduced to a quite different kind of life, in which liberty makes the whole people equal, and subjects all to the laws. They were therefore all ordered to quit Macedonia, and transport themselves into Italy, upon pain of death for such as disobeyed. The regulations made for Macedonia by Paulus Æmilius were so reasonable, that they did not seem calculated for conquered enemies, but for faithful allies, with whom there was every reason to be satisfied; and the execution of them, from which the nature of laws is best known, proved that there was nothing to be amended in the institutions of that wise magistrate.

To these serious affairs[z] succeeded a celebration of games for which preparations had long been making, and to which care had been taken to invite all the most considerable persons in the cities of Asia and Greece. The Roman general offered magnificent sacrifices to the gods, and gave superb feasts, the king's treasures supplying him abundantly with the means of defraying such great expences; but for the good order and fine taste observable in them, he was indebted solely to himself. For although he had so many thousands to receive, he displayed so nice a discernment, and so exact a knowledge of the quality of all the guests, that every one was lodged, placed, and treated, according to his rank and merit; and there was nobody who had not reason to praise his politeness and affability. The Greeks could not suf-

[z] Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 270. Liv. l. xlv. n. 32.

ficiently express their admiration, that even in games, till then unknown to the Romans, he should evince so accurate a judgment and attention; and that a man, employed in the greatest, should not neglect the least propriety in small affairs.

He had caused all the spoils that he did not think fit to carry to Rome, to be piled up in one great heap: bows, quivers, arrows, javelins; in a word, arms of all sorts; and caused them to be arranged in the form of trophies. With a torch in his hand, he set fire to them first himself, as his principal officers did after him.

He afterwards exposed to the view of the spectators, upon a place raised expressly for the occasion, all that was richest and most magnificent in the spoils he had taken in Macedonia, and which were to be carried to Rome; rich furniture, statues, and paintings by the greatest masters, vessels of gold, silver, copper, and ivory. Never had Alexandria, in the time of its greatest opulence, beheld any thing like what was now exhibited.

But the highest satisfaction Paulus Æmilius received from his magnificence, and that which was most grateful to self-love, was to see, that in the midst of so many extraordinary objects and curious sights, nothing was thought so wonderful, or so worthy of attention and admiration, as himself. And as people were surprised at the fine order of his table, he said, with an air of pleasantry, that the same genius which was necessary in disposing a battle, would serve also in regulating a feast; in the first, it rendered an army formidable to enemies; in the latter, an entertainment agreeable to guests.

His disinterestedness and magnanimity were no less praised than his magnificence and politeness; for he never so much as saw the gold and silver found amongst the king's treasures, which amounted to very great sums, but ordered it all to be delivered to treasurers, in order to be applied to the use of the public. He only permitted his sons, who were fond of

study, to keep the books of Perseus's library for their own use. The young noblemen of those times, and such as were designed one day for the command of armies, did not profess a contempt for learning, nor believe it either unworthy of their birth, or unnecessary to the profession of arms.

When Paulus Æmilius[a] had regulated all the affairs of Macedonia, he took leave of the Greeks, and after having exhorted the Macedonians not to make a bad use of the liberty granted them by the Romans, and to preserve it by good government and union, he set out for Epirus with a decree of the senate, which enjoined him to abandon all the cities that had revolted to the king's party, to be plundered by his troops. He had sent also Scipio Nasica, and Fabius his son, with part of the army, to ravage the country of the Illyrians, who had given aid to that prince.

The Roman general being arrived in Epirus, thought it proper to proceed with caution in the execution of his commission, in order that his design should not be foreseen. He therefore sent officers into all the cities, under pretence of withdrawing the garrisons, in order that the Epirots should enjoy the same liberty as the Macedonians. So disgraceful a stratagem was called prudence. He then signified to ten of the principal persons of each city, that they were to bring all the gold and silver in their houses and temples, upon a certain day, into the market-place, to be laid up in the public treasury, and distributed his troops into all the cities. Upon the day prefixed, all the gold and silver was brought early in the morning into the public square, and at ten of the clock, in all the cities, the soldiers fell furiously upon the houses, which were abandoned to them to be plundered at their mercy. A hundred and fifty thousand men were made slaves, and after the cities were pillaged, their walls were demolished, the number of which amounted nearly to seventy. The whole booty was sold, and of the sum

[a] Liv. l. xlv. n. 33, 34.

raised by it, each of the horse had for his share about ten pounds sterling, (four hundred denarii,) and each of the foot about five pounds, (two hundred denarii).

After Paulus Æmilius, contrary to his natural disposition, which was gentle and humane, had caused this decree to be put in execution, he advanced to the sea at the city of Oricum. Some days after, Anicius, having assembled the remainder of the Epirots and Acarnanians, ordered the principal persons among them, whose cause had been reserved for the judgment of the senate, to follow him into Italy.

Paulus Æmilius being[b] arrived at the mouth of the Tiber, went up that river in king Perseus's galley, which had sixteen benches of oars, and wherein were displayed, not only the arms which had been taken, but all the richest stuffs and finest carpets of purple found amongst the booty. All the Romans, who came out to meet that galley, accompanied it in crowds along the banks of the river, and seemed to give the proconsul by anticipation the honours of that triumph which he had so well deserved. But the soldiery, who had looked with a greedy eye upon the immense treasures of the king, and had not had all the share of them which they had promised themselves, retained a warm resentment upon that account, and were very ill satisfied with Paulus Æmilius. They openly reproached him with having treated them with too much rigour and authority, and seemed determined to refuse him the honour of a triumph by their suffrages. The soldiers called that general's exactitude, in causing discipline to be observed, rigour; and their discontent, occasioned by avarice, threw a veil over the excellent qualities of Paulus Æmilius; to whom, however, they were obliged to do justice in their hearts, by acknowledging the superiority of his merit in every respect.

After some debates, a triumph was granted him. Never had any thing been so magnificent. It con-

[b] Liv. l. xlv. n. 35—40. Plut. in Paul. Æmil. p. 271.

tinued three days successively. I do not enter here into a particular account of it; as that seems foreign to the Grecian History. The money in specie carried in it, without reckoning an infinite number of gold and silver vessels, amounted to more than twelve hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling. One single cup of massy gold, which Paulus Æmilius had caused to be made, and weighed ten talents,* was valued, for the gold only, at a hundred thousand crowns. It was adorned with jewels, and consecrated to Jupiter Capitolinus.

After these rich spoils and treasures, which were carried in procession, was seen the chariot of Perseus, with his arms, and upon his arms, his royal diadem. At some distance followed his children, with their governors, preceptors, and all the officers of their household, who, shedding tears, held out their hands to the people, and taught those little captives to do the same, and to endeavour, by their supplications and prayers, to move them in their favour. They were two sons and a daughter, who from the tenderness of their years were little sensible of the greatness of their calamity; a circumstance which still more excited compassion. All eyes were fixed upon them, whilst their father was scarce regarded, and in the midst of the public joy, the people could not refrain from tears at so mournful a sight.

King Perseus walked after his children and all their train, wrapped in a mourning cloak. His air and behaviour seemed to argue, that the excess of his misfortunes had turned his brain. He was followed by a troop of his friends and courtiers, who, hanging down their heads, and weeping with their eyes always fixed upon him, sufficiently explained to the spectators, that, little affected with their own misfortunes, they were sensible solely to those of their king.

It is said, that Perseus sent to desire Paulus Æmilius not to exhibit him as a spectacle to the

* The talent weighed sixty pounds.

Romans, and to spare him the indignity of being led in triumph. Paulus Æmilius replied coldly, "The "favour he asks of me is in his own power; he can "procure it for himself." He reproached him, in those few words, with his cowardice and excessive love of life, which the Pagans thought incumbent on them to sacrifice generously in such conjunctures. They did not know, that it is never lawful to make an attempt upon one's own life. But Perseus was not prevented by that consideration.

Paulus Æmilius, seated in a superb car, and magnificently adorned, closed the march. He had his two sons on each side of him.

Whatever compassion he had for the misfortunes of Perseus, and however inclined he might be to serve him, all he could do for him, was to have him removed from the public prison to a more commodious place. Himself and his son Alexander were carried, by the order of the senate, to Alba, where he was guarded, and supplied with money, furniture, and people to serve him. Most authors agree, that he occasioned his own death by abstaining from food. He had reigned eleven years. Macedonia was not reduced into a province till some years afterwards.

Cn. Octavius and L. Anicius were also granted the honour of a triumph; the first for his naval victories, and the other for that he had gained in Illyria.

Cotys, king of Thrace, sent to demand his son, who had been confined in prison, after having been led in triumph. He excused himself for his attachment to the party of Perseus, and offered a great ransom for the prisoner. The senate, without receiving his excuses, replied, that having more regard to his former services than late fault, they would send back his son, but without accepting any ransom: that the favours conferred by the Roman people were free and voluntary, and that they chose rather to leave the price of them to the gratitude and

affection of those they obliged, than to be paid immediately for them.

ARTICLE II.

THIS second article includes the space of something more than twenty years, from the defeat of Perseus, to the taking and destruction of Corinth by Mummius, at which time Greece was reduced into a Roman province.

SECT. I. *Attalus comes to Rome to congratulate the Romans upon their success in Macedonia. The deputies of the Rhodians present themselves before the senate, and endeavour to appease their wrath. After long and warm solicitations, they succeed in being admitted into the alliance of the Roman people. Severity exercised against the Ætolians. All of them, in general, who had favoured Perseus, are cited to Rome, to answer for their conduct. A thousand Achæans carried thither: Polybius one of the number. The senate banishes them into several towns of Italy. After seventeen years of banishment, they are sent back into their own country: when only three hundred of them remained.*

A. M. 3837. Ant. J. C. 167. AMONGST the different embassies from kings and states, which came to Rome after the victory over Perseus, Attalus, Eumenes's brother, drew upon him [c] more than all others the eyes and attention of the Romans. The ravages committed by the Asiatic Gauls in the kingdom of Pergamus, had laid Attalus under the necessity of going to Rome, to implore the aid of the republic against those barbarians. Another still more specious reason had obliged him

[c] Polyb. Legat. xciii. Liv. l. xlv. n. 19, 20.

to make the voyage. It was necessary to congratulate the Romans upon their late victory, and to receive the applauses he deserved for the part he had taken in the war against Perseus, and for having shared with them in all the dangers of it. He was received at Rome with all the marks of honour and amity that a prince could expect who had proved, in the army in Macedonia, a constant and determinate attachment for the Romans. He had a most favourable reception, and made his entrance into the city attended by a very numerous train.

All these honours, the real cause of which he did not penetrate, made him conceive thoughts and hopes which perhaps had never entered into his mind, if they had not been suggested to him. The greatest part of the Romans had no longer any esteem or affection for Eumenes. His secret negociations with Perseus, of which they had been apprised, made them believe that prince had never been heartily on their side, and that he only waited an occasion to declare against them. Full of this prejudice, some of the most distinguished Romans, in their private conversations with Attalus, advised him not to mention the business on which his brother had sent him to treat; but to speak solely of what related to himself. They gave him to understand that the senate, to whom Eumenes was become suspected, and even odious, from his having appeared to waver between Perseus and the Romans, had thoughts of depriving him of part of his kingdom, and to give it to himself, upon whom they could rely as an assured friend incapable of changing. We here recognize the maxims of the Roman policy; and these detached features may serve to unveil it upon other occasions, when more attentive to conceal itself.

The temptation was delicate to a prince, who, without doubt, did not want ambition, and who was not of a temper to reject such pleasing hopes when they presented themselves to him without being solicited. He listened therefore to these discourses and

this proposal; and the rather, because they came from some of the principal persons of Rome, whose wisdom he esteemed, and whose probity he respected. The affair went so far, that he promised them to demand in the senate, that part of his brother's kingdom should be given to him.

Attalus had a physician in his train, called Stratius, whom Eumenes, suspecting his brother, had sent with him to Rome, to have an eye upon his conduct, and to recall him to his duty by good counsel, if he should happen to depart from it. Stratius had wit and penetration, and his manners were very insinuating, and well adapted to persuasion. Having either discovered, or learned from Attalus himself, the design that had been instilled into him, he took advantage of some favourable moments to open himself to him. He represented, that the kingdom of Pergamus, weak of itself, and but very lately established, had subsisted, and been augmented, solely by the union and good understanding of the brothers who possessed it. That only one of them, indeed, enjoyed the name of king, and wore the diadem; but that they all reigned in reality. That Eumenes, having no male issue (for the son he had afterwards, and who succeeded him, was not then in being), he could leave his throne only to his next brother. That his right to the succession of the kingdom was therefore incontestable; and that, considering the age and infirmities of Eumenes, the time for such succession could not be very remote. And wherefore then should he anticipate and hasten, by a violent and criminal undertaking, what would soon happen in a just and natural manner? Did he desire to divide the kingdom with his brother, or to deprive him of it entirely? If he had only a part of it, both of them, weakened by such a division and exposed to the enterprises of their neighbours, might be equally deprived of their share. That if he proposed to reign alone, what would become of his elder brother? Would he reduce him to live as a private person, or

send him, at his years, into banishment? or in a word, would he cause him to be put to death? That he did not doubt, but such thoughts must give him horror. That, not to speak of the accounts related in fabulous history of the tragical effects of fraternal discord, the recent example of Perseus ought to remind him of them. That that unfortunate prince, who had torn the sceptre from his brother, by shedding his blood, pursued by the Divine vengeance, had lately laid down the same sceptre at the feet of his conqueror in the temple of Samothracia, and in a manner before the eyes, and by the order of the gods who preside there, the witnesses and avengers of his guilt. That he was assured that the very persons, who, less out of friendship for him, than ill-will for Eumenes, gave him at present such pernicious counsels, would be the first to praise his tender and constant affection for his brother, if he continued faithfully attached to him to the last. Stratius added the extreme danger to which Attalus would expose the kingdom of Pergamus in the present conjuncture, when the Gauls were preparing to invade it.

How unworthy was it of the Romans to kindle and blow up the fire of discord in this manner between brothers! Of what value must a sincere, prudent, and disinterested friend appear at such at a time! What an advantage is it for a prince to give those who approach him the liberty of speaking freely, and without reserve to him; and of being known by them in that light! The wise remonstrances of Stratius produced their intended effect upon the mind of Attalus. That prince, having been introduced into the senate, without speaking against his brother, or demanding a division of the kingdom of Pergamus, contented himself with congratulating the senate, in the name of Eumenes and his brothers, upon the victory gained in Macedonia. He modestly dwelt upon the zeal and affection with which he had served in the war against Perseus. He desired, that they would send ambassadors to check the insolence of the Gauls,

and to reduce them to their former state; and concluded with requesting, that the investiture of Ænus and Maronæa, cities of Thrace, might be given to him, which places had been conquered by Philip, father of Perseus, and the possession disputed with him by Eumenes.

The senate, imagining that Attalus would demand another audience, in order to speak in particular of his pretensions to part of his brother's dominions, promised beforehand to send ambassadors according to his request, and made the prince the usual presents. They promised besides to put him into possession of the two cities, as he desired. But when it was known that he had left Rome, the senate, offended to find that he had done nothing of what they had expected from him, and not being able to be revenged upon him in any other manner, revoked the promise they had made him; and, before the prince was out of Italy, declared Ænus and Maronæa free and independent cities. They sent, however, an embassy to the Gauls, at the head of which was P. Licinius; but with very different instructions to those demanded by Attalus. The Roman policy threw off the mask entirely at this time, and showed an aspect very unlike the frankness and probity of their ancestors.

The senate some days[d] after gave audience to the Rhodians, which made a great noise. They were at first refused to be heard, as having rendered themselves unworthy of that honour by their conduct, and even a declaration of war against them was talked of. Rhodes, alarmed at it, sent two new deputies. Having obtained admittance to the senate with great difficulty, they appeared there as suppliants, dressed in mourning habits, and with their faces bathed in tears. Astymedes spoke, and with a voice interrupted with sobs, took upon him the defence of his unfortunate country. He took great care not to show at first his desire to justify it. He avowed, that it had justly incurred the anger of the Roman people;

[d] Polyb. Legat. xciii.—xcix. c. & civ. Liv. xlv. n. 20.—25.

he confessed its faults; he called to mind the indiscreet embassy, which the insolent pride of the orator who spoke had rendered still more criminal: but he begged the senate to make some difference between the entire body of the nation, and a few private persons disavowed by them, whom they were ready to deliver up. He represented that there was no republic nor city that did not include some bad members: that, after all, there were no other crimes objected to them but words; foolish indeed, rash, extravagant (which he confessed to be the characteristics and failings of his nation), but such as wise persons seldom lay much stress upon, or punish with exceeding rigour, no more than Jupiter aims his thunders at all that speak with little respect of his divinity. "But (said he) the neutrality ob-"served by us in the late war, is looked upon as a cer-"tain proof of our enmity towards you. *Is there "a tribunal in the world, wherein the intention, "when without effect, is punished as the action "itself? But allowing your severity be carried to that "excess, at most the punishment can only fall on "those who have had this intention, and then the "majority of us are innocent. Admitting even that "this neutrality and inaction make us all criminal; "ought the real services we have rendered you in "the two preceding wars to be deemed as nothing, "and will they not cover the omission imputed to us "in the last? Let Philip, Antiochus, and Perseus, "bear witness now in our cause. The voices of the "two first will certainly be for us, and absolve us; "and, for the third, at most, and in the severest "sense, the sentence must appear doubtful and un-"certain. Can you then, according to this state of "the question, pass sentence of death against Rhodes; "for you are now upon the point of deciding, whe-

* *Neque moribus neque legibus ullius civitatis ita comparatum esse, ut, siquis vellet inimicum perire, si nihil fecerit quod id fiat, capitis damnetur.* Liv.

"ther it shall subsist any longer, or be entirely de-
"stroyed? You may declare war against us; but
"not a single Rhodian will take up arms against you.
"If you persist in your resentment, we demand time
"to go and report the result of our deputation at
"Rhodes, and at that moment our whole city, men,
"women, and free persons, will embark with all our
"estates and effects; we will abandon our household
"gods, as well public as private, and come to Rome,
"where, after we have thrown our gold and silver,
"and all we have, at your feet, we will deliver up
"ourselves, our wives, and our children, to your dis-
"cretion. We will suffer here before your eyes,
"whatever you shall think fit to inflict upon us. If
"Rhodes is condemned to be plundered and set on
"fire, at least we shall spare ourselves the sight of
"that calamity. You may, by your resolves, declare
"us to be your enemies; but there is a secret senti-
"ment in the bottom of our hearts that declares quite
"the contrary, and assures us that, whatever hostili-
"ties you may exercise against us, you will never find
"us otherwise than friends and servants."

After this discourse, the deputies prostrated themselves upon the earth, and held out their hands towards the senators, with olive branches in them, to demand peace. When they were withdrawn, by order of the senate, they proceeded to vote upon the affair. All who had served in Macedonia, in quality of consuls, prætors, or lieutenants, and who had most experienced their foolish pride and enmity to the Romans, were very much against them. M. Portius Cato, the celebrated censor, known by the severity of his character, which often rose to hardness of heart, was softened at this time in favour of the Rhodians, and spoke for them with great warmth and eloquence. Livy does not repeat his discourse, because it was then extant in a work of Cato's own, entitled *De Originibus*, wherein he had inserted his own orations.

The world has reason to regret the loss of so va-

luable a collection. Aulus Gellius[e] has preserved some fragments of this discourse of Cato's; by which it appears he made use of almost the same reasons with the ambassadors from Rhodes. I shall cite some passages of it at the bottom of the page, to assist the reader in knowing and distinguishing the manly and energetical style which characterized the Roman eloquence in those ancient times, when more attention was paid to the force of the sentiments than to the elegance of the words.

Cato * begins his discourse by representing to the Romans, that they ought not, in consequence of their victory over the king of Macedon, to abandon themselves to the extravagance of excessive joy. That prosperity generally excites pride and insolence. That he apprehends, in the present case, they may form resolutions which may draw some misfortune upon Rome, and cause the frivolous joy, to which they give themselves up, to vanish like a dream. "Adversity "(says he), in humbling the spirit, restores us to our "reason, and teaches us what is necessary to be done. "Prosperity, on the contrary, hurries us in a manner "out of our way, by the joy it occasions, and makes "us lose sight of the measures which a calm temper "of mind would enable us to discern and execute. "It is therefore, fathers, I am absolutely of opinion, "that we should for a few days defer the decision of "this affair, till, having recovered from the violent "emotions of our joy, we are again masters of our-"selves, and capable of deliberating with more ma-"turity." He adds, "That he indeed believes the

[e] Lib. vii. c. 5.

* *Scio solere plerisque hominibus rebus secundis atque prolixis atque prosperis animum excellere, superbiam atque ferociam augescere atque crescere: quod mihi nunc magnæ curæ est, quia hæc res tam secundè processit, ne quid in consulendo adversi eveniat, quod nostras secundas res confutet; neve hæc lætitia nimis luxuriosè eveniat. Adversæ res se domant, et docent quid opus sit facto: secundæ res lætitiâ transversum trudere solent à rectè consulendo atque intelligendo. Quo majore opere edico suadeoque, uti hæc res aliquot dies proferatur, dum ex tanto gaudio in potestatem nostram redeamus.*

"Rhodians were far from desiring that the Romans "should have conquered Perseus; but that they "had such sentiments in common with all other "states; sentiments, which did not proceed from "their enmity to the Romans, but from the love "of their own liberty; for which they had just "cause to fear, when there should be none in a con- "dition to dispute empire with us, and we should "become absolute masters of all nations. For the "rest, the Rhodians did not aid Perseus. Their "whole* crime, by the consent of their most vio- "lent accusers, is, that they intended to declare war "against us. But how long has the will, the inten- "tion only, been a crime? Is there any one amongst "us that would be willing to subject himself to "this rule? For my part, I am sure, I would not. "The† Rhodians, it is said, are proud; I should be "very sorry that my children could justly make me "that reproach. But, pray, in what does their pride "affect us? Would it become us to impute it to them "as a crime that they were prouder than we are?"

The opinion of so grave and venerable a senator as Cato prevented a war against the Rhodians. The answer given them did not declare them enemies, nor treat them as allies; but left matters still in suspense. They were ordered to remove their governors from the cities of Lycia and Caria. Those provinces were given up to them after the defeat of Antiochus, and now taken from them by way of punishment. They were ordered also to evacuate Caunus and Stratonice. They had bought the first, for two hundred talents (about twenty-five thousand pounds), of Ptolemy's generals, and the second had been given them by

* *Qui acerrimè adversùs eos dicit, ita dicit; hostes voluisse fieri. Et quis tandem est nostrûm, qui, quod ad sese attinet, æquum censeat quempiam pœnas dare ob eam rem, quòd arguatur malè facere voluisse? nemo opinor: nam ego, quod ad me attinet, nolim.*

† *Rhodienses superbos esse aiunt; id objectantes quod mihi è liberis meis minimè dici velim. Sint sanè superbi. Quid id ad nos attinet? Idne irascimini, siquis superbior est quàm nos?*

Antiochus and Seleucus; they drew from those two cities an annual revenue of a hundred and twenty talents (or fifteen thousand pounds). At the same time the senate granted the island of Delos an exemption from customs, which considerably diminished the revenues of the Rhodians. For instead of a million of drachmas (about five-and-twenty thousand pounds sterling), to which the revenue from those customs amounted before, it paid afterwards only a hundred and fifty thousand (about three thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds sterling).

The senate's answer having dispelled at Rhodes the fear that the Romans would take arms against the republic, made all other evils appear light, as it is common for the expectation of great misfortunes to deaden the sensation of small ones. How hard soever those orders were, they submitted to them, and put them in immediate execution. They decreed at the same time a crown of gold to the Romans, of the value of* ten thousand pieces of gold, and chose their admiral Theodotus to present it. He had orders to solicit the alliance of the Romans. The Rhodians had not demanded it till then, though for almost a hundred and forty years they had shared in the most glorious expeditions of that republic; which was a feature of their politics. They were unwilling to hamper their liberty with the chains of oaths and treaties; in order that, continuing free, and their own masters, they might either aid the kings in distress, or be supported by them upon occasion. In the present conjuncture, they earnestly demanded to be admitted as allies, not to secure themselves against other powers, for they were in no apprehensions of any besides the Romans; but to remove, by that change of conduct, all suspicions that might have been conceived to the prejudice of their republic. The alliance was not, however, granted them at this time.

* This might amount to about six thousand pounds, reckoning the piece of gold (χρυσοῦς) at twelve shillings, or thereabouts.

They did not obtain it till the following year; nor then, without long and warm solicitations. Tiberius Gracchus, on his return from Asia, whither he had been sent in quality of commissioner, to examine into its condition, was of great service to them upon this occasion. He declared that the Rhodians had punctually obeyed the senate's orders, and had condemned the partisans of Perseus to death. After so favourable a report, the Rhodians were admitted into the alliance of the Roman republic.

I have before observed, [f] that the Ætolians had presented themselves before Paulus Æmilius in mourning habits, at his return from his expedition into Greece, and that he had given them audience at Amphipolis. The subject of their complaints was, that Lyciscus and Tisippus, whom the influence of the Romans, to whose interests they were devoted, rendered very powerful in Ætolia, had surrounded the senate with soldiers, lent them by Bæbius, who commanded in the province for the Romans; that they had put to death five hundred and fifty of the principal persons of the nation, whose sole crime was their having seemed to favour Perseus; that a great number of others had been sent into banishment, and that the estates, both of the one and the other, had been abandoned to their accusers. Paulus Æmilius listened to their complaints. The investigation was confined to enquiring, not on which side the injustice and violence had been committed, but whether the parties concerned had been for Perseus or the Romans. The murderers were acquitted. The deceased were declared to have been justly put to death, and the exiles to have been justly banished. Bæbius only was condemned for having lent his aid in this bloody execution; but why condemned if it was just; or if not, why were those acquitted who had been the principal authors of it?

This sentence gave great terror to all who had expressed any favourable inclination for Perseus, and ex-

[f] Liv. l. xlv. n. 28—32.

ceedingly increased the pride and insolence of the partisans of Rome. The principal persons of each city were divided into three factions. The one were entirely devoted to the Romans; others adhered to the party of the kings; both making their court to their protectors by abject flatteries, and thereby rendering themselves powerful in their cities, which they held in an oppressive subjection. A third kind of citizens, in opposition to the other two, observed a kind of medium, neither taking part with the Romans nor the kings; but publicly asserting the defence of their laws and liberty. The latter, at bottom, were much esteemed and beloved in their several cities; but had no authority. All offices, embassies, honours, and rewards, were conferred solely upon those who espoused the Roman interest, after the defeat of Perseus; and they employed their credit in utterly destroying all those who differed from themselves in opinion.

In this view they repaired in great numbers, from all parts of Greece, to the ten commissioners, appointed by the senate to regulate affairs. They gave them to understand that, besides those who had declared publicly for Perseus, there were abundance of others secretly the enemies of Rome, who, under the pretence of defending their liberty, influenced the whole people against them; and that those cities would never continue quiet, and perfectly subject to the Romans, unless, after the contrary party were entirely reduced, the authority of those who had only the interest of the Roman commonwealth at heart was fully established. The ten commissioners perfectly relished those reasons, and made them the rule of their conduct. What justice could be expected from an assembly that was determined to consider and treat all as criminals who were not of the Roman party; and to reward all who should declare themselves their accusers and enemies, with the highest graces and favours? We see here to what lengths ambition and the lust of empire carry mankind. They make men blind to all sense of duty

and decency, and induce them to sacrifice justice, as well as every thing else, when it opposes their views. The virtue of the Pagans was but a weak and very fluctuating principle.

That appeared evidently upon this occasion. The Roman general, to whom a list had been given of all those who were suspected, ordered them to attend him, from Ætolia, Acarnania, Epirus, and Bœotia, and to follow him to Rome, there to make their defence. Commissioners were sent also into Asia, in order to take informations against such as, in public or private, had favoured Perseus.

A. M. 3837 Ant. J. C. 167. Of all the small states of Greece,[s] none gave the Roman republic so much umbrage as the Achæan league, which till then had continued formidable by the number and valour of their troops, by the ability of their generals, and, above all, by the union that reigned between all the cities of which it was composed. The Romans, jealous of a power that might prove an obstacle to their ambitious designs, especially if they should join the king of Macedonia, or the king of Syria, spared no pains to weaken it by introducing divisions, and gaining creatures, whom they raised by their credit to all employments, and by whose means they influenced the decisions in all the assemblies of the league. We have seen what passed in the affair of the Spartan exiles. But it was in the conjuncture we now speak of, that the Romans gave the last stroke to their liberty.

After the defeat of Perseus, Callicrates, to complete with the Romans, to whom he had sold himself, the ruin of the partisans of liberty, whom he looked upon as his enemies, had the boldness to accuse by name all those to the ten commissioners, whom he suspected to have had any inclination to support Perseus. They did not think it would be sufficient to write to the Achæans, as they had done to other states, commanding them to send such of their

[s] Liv. xlv. n. 31. Pausan. in Achaic. p. 416, 417.

citizens to Rome, as were accused of having favoured Perseus; but they sent two deputies to declare in person that order to the league. Two reasons induced them to act in this manner. The first was, their fear that the Achæans, who were very jealous of their liberty, and full of valour, should refuse obedience to mere letters that should be written them; and that Callicrates, and the other informers, would run the risk of their lives in the assembly: the second, because in the letters which had been found amongst Perseus's papers, nothing appeared to convict the accused Achæans.

The two commissioners sent into Achaia, were C. Claudius and Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus. One of them more abandoned to injustice than the other, (Pausanias does not say which,) complained in the assembly, that many of the most powerful persons of the league had assisted Perseus against the Romans, and demanded, that they should be condemned as deserving death, after which he would name them. The whole assembly was shocked at this proposal, and cried out on all sides, that it was an unheard of thing to condemn persons before it was known who they were, and pressed him to make known the guilty. Being urged repeatedly to explain himself, he replied, at the suggestion of Callicrates, that all who had been in office, and commanded the armies, had rendered themselves guilty of that crime. Xenon, upon that, who was a person of great credit, and very much respected by the league, spoke to this effect: "I have commanded the armies, and have had the "honour to be the chief magistrate of the league; I "protest that I have never acted in any thing con-"trary to the interests of the Romans, which I am "ready to prove either in the assembly of the Achæ-"ans, or at Rome before the senate." The Roman took hold of this expression as favourable to his designs, and decreed, that all those who had been charged by Callicrates should be sent to Rome, in order to justify themselves there. The whole assem-

bly was in the highest affliction upon this sentence. Nothing like it had ever been known, even under Philip, or his son Alexander. Those princes, though irresistibly powerful, never conceived the thought of causing such as opposed them to be brought into Macedonia, but referred the trying of them to the council of the Amphictyons, their natural judges. The Romans did not imitate their moderation; but by a conduct, which may justly be called tyrannical, caused above a thousand of the most considerable citizens of the Achæan league to be seized and conveyed to Rome. Callicrates became more than ever the object of horror and detestation to all the Achæans. All people avoided meeting him, and shunned him as an infamous traitor; and no one would bathe in the public baths after him, till all the water had been first emptied out of them.

Polybius, the celebrated historian, was of the number of these exiles. We have seen Lycortas, his father, distinguish himself by the fortitude and constancy with which he supported the interests of the Achæan league during his government of it. He had taken particular care of the education of his son. In politics, Polybius had Lycortas his father, a great statesman, for his master; and in war, Philopœmen, one of the most able and intrepid generals of antiquity; it was under these tutors that he imbibed those learned lessons in the arts of government and war, which he practised himself, and has transmitted to posterity in his writings.

As soon as he arrived at Rome, whither his reputation had reached before him, his merit made the greatest men of the republic cultivate his friendship. He was particularly intimate with the two sons of Paulus Æmilius, the eldest of whom had been adopted into the family of the Fabii, and the youngest into that of the Scipios. The latter had been adopted by P. Cornelius Scipio, son of Scipio Africanus, who conquered Hannibal. I have enlarged sufficiently, in the conclusion of the history of the Carthaginians,

upon the intimate friendship of Polybius with this second son of Paulus Æmilius, who afterwards conquered Carthage and Numantia. That young Roman perceived the value of such a friend, and knew how to apply his lessons and advice to the best advantage. It is very probable that Polybius composed the greatest part of his history or at least collected his materials for it, at Rome.

When the Achæans arrived at Rome, the senate, without hearing or examining their cause, supposing, without any foundation, and contrary to the most known truth, that they had been tried and sentenced in the assembly of the Achæans, banished them into different towns of Italy. Polybius was excepted from that number.

The Achæans,[h] surprised and afflicted with the fate of their countrymen, sent deputies to Rome, to demand that the senate would vouchsafe to take cognizance of their cause. They were answered, that it had been done, and that they had adjudged it themselves. Upon that reply, the Achæans sent back the same deputies to Rome (with Euræas at their head) to protest again before the senate, that the Achæans had never been heard by their country, and that their affair had never been brought to a trial. Euræas, in consequence, entered the senate with the other deputies who accompanied him, and declared the orders he had received, praying, that they would take cognizance of the accusation, and not suffer the accused to perish, without passing sentence upon the crime they were charged with. That it were to be wished the senate would examine the affair themselves, and make known the guilty; but, in case their other great affairs should not afford them leisure for such enquiry, they had only to refer it to the Achæans, who would do them justice in such a manner as should evince the greatness of their aversion for the guilty. Nothing was more equitable than this demand, and the senate was very much at a loss how to

[h] Polyb. Legat. cv.

answer it. On the one side, they did not think it proper to try the cause, for the accusation was groundless; on the other, to dismiss the exiles without passing judgment upon them, was to lose irrecoverably all their friends in Achaia. The senate, in order to leave the Greeks no hopes of retrieving their exiles, and to render them thereby more submissive to their orders, wrote into Achaia to Callicrates, and into the other states to the partisans of the Romans, that it did not appear to them that the return of the exiles was consistent with their interest, or with that of their country. This answer not only threw the exiles, but all the people of Greece, into a consternation. An universal mourning succeeded it. They were convinced, that there was nothing further to hope for the accused Achæans, and that their banishment was perpetual.

However, [i] they sent new deputies, with instructions to demand the return of the exiles; but as suppliants, and as a favour; lest in taking upon them their defence, they should seem in the slightest degree to oppose the will of the senate. There did not escape any thing in their harangue, that was not very well weighed, and sufficiently reserved. Notwithstanding which, the senate continued inflexible, and declared that they would persist in the regulations already made.

A. M. 3814. Ant. J. C. 160. [k] The Achæans, without being disheartened, appointed several deputations at different times, but with no better success; they were particularly ordered to demand the return of Polybius. They were in the right to persevere thus in their applications to the senate in favour of their countrymen. Though their repeated solicitations had no other effect than to place the injustice of the Romans in full light, they could not be considered as unnecessary. Many of the senators were moved with them, and were of opinion, that it was proper to send home the exiles.

[i] Polyb. Legat. cxxii. [k] Id. Legat. cxxix. cxxx.

The Achæans,[1] having received advice of this favourable disposition, in order to improve it to their advantage, appointed a last deputation. The exiles had been already banished seventeen years, and a great number of them were dead. There were very warm debates upon the subject in the senate; some being for their return into their own country, and restored to the possession of their estates; and others opposing it. Scipio, at the request of Polybius, had solicited Cato in favour of the exiles. That grave senator, rising up to speak in his turn: "To see us "(said he) dispute a whole day, whether some poor "old men of Greece shall be interred by our grave-"diggers, or those of their own country, would not "one believe that we had nothing at all to do?" That pleasantry was all that was wanting to make the senate ashamed of their obstinate perseverance, and to induce them to send back the exiles into Peloponnesus. Polybius was anxious that they might be reinstated in all the honours and dignities they possessed before their banishment; but before he presented that request to the senate, he thought proper to sound Cato upon it, who told him smiling, "Po-"lybius, you do not imitate the wisdom of Ulysses. "You are for returning into the cave of the Cyclops "for some miserable tatters you have left there." The exiles accordingly returned into their country; but of the thousand that left it, only about three hundred remained. Polybius made no use of this permission; or if he did, he soon rejoined Scipio, since three years after he was with him at the siege of Carthage. Ant. J. C. 150.

[1] Plut. in Cato. Cens. p. 341.

SECT. II. *Mean flattery of Prusias, king of Bithynia, in the senate. Eumenes, become suspected by the Romans, is not suffered to enter Rome. Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, dies, and is succeeded by a son of the same name. Death of Eumenes. Attalus, his brother, succeeds him, as guardian to his son, then very young. War between Attalus and Prusias. The latter having formed the design of putting his son Nicomedes to death, is killed by him. Embassy of three celebrated Athenian philosophers to Rome. Another from the people of Marseilles. Digression upon the city of Marseilles.*

AFTER the defeat of Perseus, new embassies came every day to Rome, either to congratulate the Romans upon their victory, or to justify or excuse themselves for the attachment they had seemed to have to that prince; and some came to lay complaints before the senate in regard to some allies. We have seen hitherto what relates to the Rhodians and Achæans. In this section I shall collect what concerns Eumenes king of Pergamus, Prusias king of Bithynia, and some other particular affairs.

A. M. 3838. Ant. J. C. 166. Prusias being come to Rome,[m] to pay to the senate and Roman people his compliments of congratulation upon the good success of the war against Perseus, dishonoured the royal dignity by his abject flattery. At his reception by the deputies appointed by the senate for that purpose, he appeared with his head shaved, and with the cap, habit, and shoes and stockings of a slave made free; and saluting the deputies; "You see," said he, "one of your freed men "ready to fulfil whatsoever you shall please to com- "mand, and to conform entirely to all your customs." When he entered the senate, he stood at the door

[m] Polyb. in Legat. xcvii. Liv. lib. xlv. n. 44.

facing the senators, who were seated, and prostrating himself, kissed the threshold. Afterwards, addressing himself to the assembly, "I salute you, ye gods, "preservers," cried he; and went on with a discourse suitable to that preamble. Polybius says, that he should be ashamed to repeat it. He concluded with demanding, that the Roman people would renew the alliance with him, and grant him certain lands taken from Antiochus, of which the Gauls had possessed themselves without any right or pretension. He then recommended his son Nicomedes to them. All he asked was granted him; only commissioners were appointed to examine into the condition of the lands in question. Livy, in his account of this audience, omits the abject submissions of Prusias; of which he pretends the Roman historians say nothing: he contents himself with mentioning, in the conclusion, part of what Polybius had said before; and not without good reason. For that base deportment at least dishonoured the senate as much, who suffered, as the prince who acted it.

Prusias had scarce left Rome,[n] when advice came that Eumenes was upon the point of entering it. That news gave the senate great perplexity. Eumenes, in the war against Perseus, had behaved in such a manner that they could neither consider him as a friend nor an enemy. There was ground for violent suspicions, but no certain proofs against him. To admit him to an audience, was to declare him innocent: to condemn him as guilty, was to lay them under the necessity of a war with him, and to proclaim to all the world, that they had been deficient in prudence, by loading a prince with favours and honours, with whose character they were little acquainted. To avoid these inconveniences, the senate made a decree, by which, under the pretext that the reception of kings was too great an expence to the republic, they forbade all kings in general to enter

[n] Polyb. Legat. xcvii.

that city, and caused that ordinance to be signified to the king of Pergamus, who was at no loss to comprehend its meaning. He returned, therefore, into his own dominions.

A. M. 3839. Ant. J. C. 165. This affront encouraged his enemies[o] and cooled the affection of his allies. Prusias sent an ambassador to Rome, to complain against him for the irruptions he made into Bithynia. He added, that Eumenes held secret intelligence with Antiochus: that he treated all those injuriously who seemed to favour the Romans, and particularly the Gallo-Grecians, his neighbours, in contradiction to the senate's decrees in their behalf. That people had also sent deputies to Rome with their complaints; which they afterwards repeated several times, as well as Prusias. The senate did not yet declare themselves. They contented themselves with covertly aiding and supporting the Gallo-Grecians to the utmost of their power, without doing any manifest injustice to Eumenes.

The king of Pergamus, who had been forbidden entrance into Rome, sent his brothers, Attalus and Athenæus thither, to answer the accusations with which he was charged. The apology they made seemed fully to confute all the complaints that had been alleged against the king, and the senate were so well satisfied with it, that they sent them back into Asia laden with honours and presents. They did not, however, entirely efface the prejudices conceived against their brother. The senate dispatched Sulpicius Gallus and Manius Sergius, with orders to inform themselves secretly, whether Antiochus and Eumenes were not concerting some design against the Romans.

Sulpicius[p] acted in this commission with very great imprudence. He was a vain man, and aimed at appearing important, by declaring against Eumenes. When he arrived in Asia, he caused all the cities to

[o] Polyb. Legat. xcvii. cii. civ. cv. cvi. cxix. cxxi.
[p] Ibid. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 145.

be informed, that such as had any complaints to make, in regard to that prince, might repair to him at Sardis. And there for ten days he hearkened quietly to all the accusations people thought fit to form against Eumenes; a liberty that set all malcontents at work, and opened a door for all manner of calumnies.

Tiberius Gracchus, whom the senate sent the following year into Asia upon the same account, was received by Eumenes and Antiochus in a manner which convinced him there was nothing to fear from those two kings, and induced him to make his report to the senate accordingly. He gave an equally favourable account of the conduct of Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, whose sister Eumenes had married. That prince died some time after. His son Ariarathes, [q] surnamed Philopator, succeeded him. He had him by Antiochis, the daughter of Antiochus the Great, and intended, when he came to age, to resign his kingdom to him, to which his son would never consent; from whence he was called *Philopator*, that is, *lover of his father:* an action highly laudable, in an age wherein it was no uncommon thing to acquire kingdoms by parricide. A. M. 3840. Ant. J. C. 164. A. M. 3842. Ant. J. C. 162.

As soon as the young king ascended the throne[r] he sent deputies to Rome, to demand that the treaty, which his father had made with the Romans, should be renewed, which was granted him, with praises.

Some time after,[s] notwithstanding Eumenes aided him with all his forces, he was dethroned by Demetrius, king of Syria, and one of his elder brothers set in his place, who was a supposititious child, named Holofernes. Ariarathes took refuge at Rome. The usurper and Demetrius sent their ambassadors also thither. The senate decreed, that the two brothers should reign jointly. It was a policy sufficiently frequent with the Romans to divide kingdoms be- A. M. 3845. Ant. J. C. 159. A. M. 847. Ant. J. C. 157.

[q] Diod. Eclog. p. 895.
[r] Polyb. Legat. cxxi.
[s] Id. Legat. cxxvi.

tween brothers, in order to weaken them by that partition, and sow the seeds of an eternal division between them. Attalus, in the first year of his reign, re-established him in the sole possession of the throne, having conquered and expelled his competitor.

A. M. 3845. Ant. J. C. 159. Eumenes was always suspected by the Romans, and almost continually at war with Prusias, or the Gallo-Grecians. He died at length, after having reigned thirty-eight years.* He left for his successor [t] in the kingdom his son Attalus, surnamed Philometor, then an infant, whom he had by Stratonice, sister of Ariarathes, and appointed as guardian of his son, and regent of his kingdom, his brother Attalus Philadelphus, who governed the kingdom one-and-twenty years.

Polybius bestows great praises on Eumenes. The body of that prince, says he, was weak and delicate, but his soul great, and abounding with the most noble sentiments. He was inferior to none of the kings [u] who were his contemporaries in many other qualities, and excelled them all in the nobleness of his inclinations. The kingdom of Pergamus. when he received it from his father, consisted only of a very small number of cities, which scarce deserved that name. He rendered it so powerful, that it might have disputed pre-eminence with almost all the greatest kingdoms. He owed nothing either to chance or fortune;—I still use the words of Polybius. Every thing was the result of his prudence, assiduity, and activity. From his fondness for true glory, he did more good to Greece, and enriched more private persons, than any prince of his time. To finish his character, he possessed so fully the art of engaging the respect of his three brothers, and of keeping them within bounds by his authority, without letting them perceive it, that though they were all of age and capacity to act for themselves, and shared with him in the

[t] Strabo. l. xiii. p. 634. [u] Polyb. in Exempl. Virt. et Vit. p. 166.

* Strabo says, he reigned forty-three years, but that is presumed to be an error.

functions of the sovereignty, they never failed in point of submission, but continued always in perfect union, and, with equal zeal for his service, assisted him in defending and aggrandizing the kingdom. It would be difficult to find such an example of authority over brothers, joined with unalterable concord and union.

I ought not, in this place, to omit one thing, which does great honour to the memory of Eumenes; that is, his having founded the famous library of Pergamus, or at least considerably augmented it.

The division [x] which had almost perpetually subsisted between Prusias and Eumenes, continued under Attalus, who succeeded the latter. Prusias having been victorious in a battle, entered Pergamus, and, violently enraged and afflicted that he had failed of seizing Attalus, let fall the weight of his revenge upon the statues and temples of the gods; burning and destroying all before him in his march. Attalus sent his brother Athenæus to Rome, to implore aid of the senate, who sent several embassies at different times to forbid Prusias to continue the war against Attalus; but he eluded those orders, either by delays, or even by treachery, having once attempted, under pretence of an interview, to seize the Roman ambassador and Attalus. His design was discovered, and the execution of it prevented; but his crime was not the less upon that account. Rome at other times would have punished it with the destruction of his kingdom. She was at present contented with sending ten commissioners, with instructions to put an end to this war, and to oblige Prusias to make Attalus satisfaction for the damages he had done him. Attalus, however, with the aid of his allies, had assembled numerous forces both by sea and land. All things were prepared for opening the campaign, when news came that the commissioners were arrived. Attalus joined them. After some

A. M. 3848. Ant. J. C. 156. A. M. 3849. Ant. J. C. 155.

[x] Iyb. Legat. cxxviii. cxxix. c xxxiii. cxxxv. cxxxvi.

conferences upon the present affair, they set out for Bithynia, where they declared to Prusias the orders they were charged with from the senate. That prince was willing to accept part of the conditions prescribed him; but refused to comply with most of the rest. The commissioners, exasperated at his rejecting them, broke the alliance and amity with him, and resuming immediately their route to Pergamus, left Prusias in terrible apprehensions. They advised Attalus to keep with his army upon the frontiers of his kingdom, without being the first to commit hostilities; and some of them returned to Rome, to inform the senate of the rebellion of Prusias. At length he opened his eyes, and new commissioners from Rome obliged him to lay down his arms, and sign a treaty of peace which they presented him. This treaty imported, that Prusias should give immediately twenty decked ships to Attalus; that he should pay him five hundred talents (five hundred thousand crowns) within twenty years; and that the two kings should keep within the bounds of their own dominions, as they stood before the war; that Prusias, in reparation of the damage he had done upon the lands of some neighbouring cities, which were named, should pay them a hundred talents (a hundred thousand crowns). When he had accepted and signed these conditions, Attalus drew off his troops both by sea and land into his own kingdom. In this manner ended the war, occasioned by the differences between Attalus and Prusias.

Attalus the younger,[y] the son of Eumenes, when the peace was concluded between the two states, made a voyage to Rome, in order to make himself known to the senate, to demand the continuance of their amity, and, without doubt, to thank them also for the protection they had granted his uncle, who reigned in his name. He received from the senate all the marks of favour he could expect, and all the

[y] Polyb. Legat. cxl.

honours suitable to his years; after which he set out for his own dominions.

Prusias[z] also sent afterwards his son Nicomedes to Rome; and knowing that he was highly respected there, he gave him instructions to demand that the senate would remit him the remainder of the sum he was to pay Attalus. He joined Menas with him in this embassy, to whom he had given secret orders to dispatch the young prince, in order to advance his children by a second wife. The favour demanded by Prusias was refused, Attalus's ambassadors demonstrating that the whole sum was far from being equal to the losses his master had sustained. A. M. 3855. Ant. J. C. 149.

Menas instead of executing the horrid commission he was charged with, discovered the whole to Nicomedes. The young prince having quitted Rome to return into Bithynia, thought it incumbent on him to prevent the murderous designs of his father. Supported by the assistance of Attalus, he revolted against him, and drew over the greatest part of the people to his side; for Prusias was universally hated for his oppressions and cruelties. That unfortunate prince, abandoned by all his subjects, took refuge in a temple, where he was slain by soldiers sent by Nicomedes, or, according to some, by Nicomedes himself. What horrors on each side! Prusias was called *the hunter*, and had reigned at least six-and-thirty years. It was with him Hannibal had taken refuge. A. M. 3856. Ant. J. C. 148.

The king of Bithynia's person had nothing in it to prejudice people in his favour; nor was his mind more to his advantage. [a] He was in size but half a man, and a mere woman as to valour and bravery. He was not only timorous, but delicate, and incapable of fatigue; in a word, equally effeminate in body and mind; defects by no means amiable in a king, and least of all amongst the Bithynians. Polite learning,

[z] Appian. in Mithridat. p. 175. Justin. l. lxxxiv. c. 4.
[a] Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 173, 174.

philosophy, and all other liberal sciences connected with them, were entirely foreign to him. In short, he had no manner of idea of moral rectitude or beauty. Night and day he lived a true Sardanapalus. So that his subjects, upon the first dawn of hope, joined with the utmost ardour in measures against him, and to punish him in the same manner in which he had governed them.

I have deferred speaking of two embassies, which arrived at Rome very near the same time.

A. M. 3849. Ant. J. C. 155. The one came from the Athenians, who having been condemned by a sentence passed on them by the Sicyonians, [b] but under the authority of the Roman senate, in a fine of five hundred talents, for having laid waste the lands of the city of Oropus, sent to demand the remission of that fine. The ambassadors were three celebrated philosophers; Carneades, of the sect of the Academics; Diogenes, of the stoics; and Critolaus, of the Peripatetics. The taste for eloquence and philosophy had not yet made its way so far as Rome; it was about the time of which we are speaking that it began to spread there, and the reputation of these three philosophers did not a little contribute to it. The young people of Rome, who had any taste for the sciences, made it an honour and amusement to visit them, and were struck with admiration in hearing them, especially Carneades, whose lively and graceful eloquence, in which solidity and elegance were conjoined, transported and enchanted them. It was the general topic of conversation, that a Greek of extraordinary merit was arrived, who from his great knowledge was more than man, and who, in calming and softening the most violent passions by his eloquence, inspired youth with a kind of love, which made them renounce all other pleasures and employments, to devote themselves wholly to philosophy. He had for his auditors all the most considerable persons of Rome. His discourses translated

[b] Cic. l. ii. de Orat. n. 155. Aul. Gel. l. vii. c. 14.

into Latin by one of the senators, were in all hands. All Rome saw, with great joy, their children apply themselves to the Grecian learning, and attach themselves to those wonderful men. Cato alone seemed sorry for it; apprehending that this taste for polite learning would extinguish that for military knowledge; and that they would prefer the glory of speaking to that of acting well. The example of the second Scipio Africanus, educated at the same time under the care of Polybius, in a taste for the sciences, demonstrates how ill-founded that prejudice of Cato's was. Be this as it may, he warmly reproached the senators for keeping the ambassadors so long in the city; and having caused the affair that brought them thither to be dispatched, he hastened their departure. By a decree of the senate, the fine, in which the Athenians had been condemned, was mitigated, and the five hundred talents reduced to one hundred.

The other embassy was sent by the [c] people of Marseilles. They had already been often harassed by the Ligurians: but at the time of which we now speak, they were reduced to the last extremities, and sent ambassadors to Rome to implore aid of the senate. They came to a resolution to send deputies to the Ligurians, to incline them to sentiments of peace and equity by mild measures and negociation. Such conduct made them only the more haughty, and they carried their insolence so far as to offer indignities to the deputies, and to violate the law of nations in their persons. The senate being informed of this unhappy affair, made the consul Quintus Opimius march immediately against them with an army. He laid siege to the city[d] where the insult had been offered to the Roman ambassadors, took it by storm, made slaves of the inhabitants, and sent the principal authors of the affront bound and fettered to Rome, to be punished there according to their deserts. The Ligurians were beaten

[c] Polyb. Legat. cxxxi. & cxxxiv. [d] Egitna.

in several battles and cut to pieces. The victor distributed all the conquered lands amongst the people of Marseilles. He ordered the Ligurians to send hostages to Marseilles, which were to be exchanged for others from time to time; in order to lay a curb upon them, and prevent them from molesting the people of Marseilles, as they had done till then.

Rome had always held the people of Marseilles in extreme consideration, founded upon their extraordinary merit, and the inviolable fidelity with which they had constantly adhered to the party of the Romans. They came originally[e] from Phocæa, a city of Ionia. When Cyrus sent Harpagus to besiege it, the inhabitants, rather than submit to the yoke of the barbarians, as so many others had done, embarked with their wives and children, and all their effects; and after various adventures, having cast a mass of red-hot iron into the sea, they all engaged themselves by oath never to return to Phocæa, till that iron should swim upon the water. Afterwards, having landed upon the coast of Gaul, near the mouth of the Rhone, they settled there by the consent of the king of the country, and built a city since called Marseilles. Some authors suppose that this city was already in existence, and had been founded by an ancient colony of these same Phocæans in the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, about the second year of the forty-fifth Olympiad, and six hundred years before the birth of Jesus Christ; and that those who fled from Harpagus, and came to settle here, were called the founders, because they greatly increased the extent and power of this city. This second foundation took place in the sixtieth Olympiad, about five hundred and forty years before the birth of Jesus Christ, when Servius Tullius reigned at Rome.

The king, who had received them into his dominions with great kindness, being dead, his son[f] did

[e] Herod. l. i. c. 164. Justin. l. xliii. c. 3. [f] Id. l. xliii. c. 4.

not show them equal favour. The growing power of their city gave him umbrage. He was made to understand that those strangers, whom he had received into his country as guests and suppliants, might one day make themselves masters of it by right of conquest. The fable of the bitch was made use of upon this occasion, that asked her companion to lend her her kennel only for eight days, till she had brought forth her whelps; then by urgent entreaties obtained a second term, that she might have time to bring them up; and at last, when they were grown large and strong, made herself absolute mistress and proprietor of the place, from whence she could never afterwards be expelled. The Marseillese had, in consequence, at first a severe war upon their hands; but having been victorious, they continued in quiet possession of the lands that had been granted them, within the bounds of which they were not long confined.

In process of time they settled several [g] colonies and built several cities; Agde, Nice, Antibes, Olbia; which much extended their territory and augmented their power. They had ports, arsenals, and fleets, which rendered them formidable to their enemies.

So many new settlements [h] contributed to the spreading of the Greeks in Gaul, and occasioned a wonderful change in that country. The Gauls quitting their ancient rusticity by degrees, began to be civilized, and to assume more gentle manners. Instead of breathing nothing but war, they accustomed themselves to the observance of the laws of a wise government. They learned to improve their lands, to cultivate vines, and to plant olives. * Hence so surprising an alteration ensued, as well in the provinces as in the people who inhabited them, that it

[g] Strab. p. 180. [h] Justin. l. xliii. c. 4.

* *Adeò magnus et hominibus et rebus impositus est nitor, ut non Græcia in Galliam emigrâsse, sed Gallia in Græciam translata videretur.* Justin.

might have been said, Greece was not come to Gaul, but Gaul had been transferred into Greece.

The [i] inhabitants of the new city made very wise laws for its polity and government, which was aristocratical; that is to say, in the hands of the elders. The council of the city was composed of six hundred senators, who continued in that function during life. Of that number fifteen were elected to take care of the current affairs, and three to preside in the assemblies, in quality of principal magistrates.

The right of hospitality [k] was in singular estimation among the Marseillese, and practised by them with the most exalted humanity. To maintain the security of the asylum which they gave to strangers, no person was suffered to enter the city with arms. Certain persons were placed at the gates, whose business it was to take care of the arms of all who came in, and to return them when they went out.

All entrance was barred to such as might be inclined to introduce sloth and a voluptuous life; and particular care was taken to banish all double-dealing, falsehood, and fraud.

They piqued themselves [l] especially upon sobriety, modesty, and frugality. The most considerable portion amongst them did not exceed a hundred pieces of gold; that is to say, very near a hundred pistoles. They were not allowed to lay out more than five in dress, and as many in jewels. Valerius Maximus, [m] who lived in the reign of Tiberius, admires the regulations of government observed at Marseilles in his time. "That city," (says he,) "stedfastly retaining the * ancient severity of "manners, excludes from their theatre those co- "medians whose pieces generally turn upon the sub-

[i] Strab. l. iv. p. 179.
[k] Val. Max. l. ii. c. 6.
[l] Strab. l. iv. p. 181.
[m] Lib. ii. c. 6.

* *Eadem civitas severitatis custos acerrima est: nullum aditum in scenam mimis dando, quorum argumenta majore ex parte stuprorum continent actus, ne talia spectandi consuetudo etiam imitandi licentiam sumat.*

"ject of unlawful love." The reason given for this maxim is still finer and more remarkable than the maxim itself: "Lest" (adds the author) "a familiarity with such sort of shows should make the people the more apt to imitate them."

They would not admit in funeral ceremonies those indecent tears and lamentations with which they are generally attended, and ordered the obsequies to be terminated the same day by a domestic sacrifice, and an entertainment for the friends and relations of the deceased.* "For is it consistent to abandon ourselves "to immoderate affliction, or to be offended at the "Divinity for not having thought fit to share his immortality with us?"

Tacitus makes mention of the city of Marseilles highly to its praise; the passage occurs in his Life of Julius Agricola his father-in-law. After having spoken of the excellent education he had received from the care and tender affection of † Julia Procilla, his mother, a lady of extraordinary virtue, who made him pass the early years of his youth in the study of those arts and sciences that suited his birth and age; he adds,—"What had preserved him from the dangers and disorders to which youth is generally "exposed, was, besides his own excellent disposition, the good fortune of having from his infancy "the city of Marseilles for his school, in the manners of whose inhabitants, the politeness of the "Greeks, and the simplicity and reserve of the provinces, were happily united." *Arcebat eum ab illecebris peccantium, præter ipsius bonam integramque naturam, quòd statim parvulus sedem ac magistram studiorum Massiliam habuerit, locum Græcâ comi-*

* *Etenim quid attinet, aut humano dolori indulgeri, aut divino numini invidiam fieri, quòd immortalitatem suam nobiscum partiri noluerit?*

† *Mater Julia Procilla fuit, raræ castitatis. In hujus sinu indulgentiâque educatus, per omnem honestarum artium cultum, pueritiam adolescentiamque transegit.* Tacitus in Agricol. c. iv.

tate et provinciali parsimoniâ mistum ac bene compositum.

From what I have said it may be seen, that Marseilles was become a celebrated school for politeness, wisdom, and virtue, and at the same time for all arts and sciences. Eloquence, philosophy, physic, mathematics, law, fabulous theology, and all kinds of literature, were publicly professed there. This city produced [n] the most ancient of the learned men of the West, I mean Pytheas, an excellent geographer and astronomer, who lived in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, or indeed of Alexander the Great.

They persevered constantly in cultivating the arts and sciences with equal ardour and success. Strabo relates, that in his time (he lived in the reign of Augustus) the young nobility of Rome went to Marseilles for education; and he prefers that place to the city of Athens itself; which is saying a great deal. We have already seen that it still retained that privilege in the time of Tacitus the historian.

The Marseillese distinguished themselves no less by the wisdom of their government, than by their capacity and taste for learning. Cicero, in one of his orations, praises highly their manner of governing their republic.* "I am assured" (says he) "that "not only in Greece, but almost in all other na- "tions, there is nothing comparable to the wise po- "lity established at Marseilles. That city, so re- "mote from the country, manners and language of "all other Greeks, situate in Gaul, in the midst of "barbarous nations which surround it on all sides, is "so prudently directed by the counsels of its elders,

[n] Voss. in Histor. Græc.

* *Cujus ego civitatis disciplinam atque gravitatem, non solùm Græciæ, sed haud scio an cunctis gentibus, anteponendam jure dicam: quæ tam procul à Græcorum omnium regionibus, disciplinis, linguâque divisa, cùm in ultimis terris cincta Gallorum gentibus, barbariæ fluctibus alluatur, sic optimatum consilio gubernatur, ut omnes ejus instituta laudare facilius possint, quam æmulari.* Orat. pro Flacco. n. lxiii.

"that it is more easy to praise, than imitate the wis-
"dom of its government."

They laid it down as a fundamental [o] rule of their politics, from which they never departed, to adhere inviolably to the Romans, to whose manners their own were more conformable, than to those of the barbarians around them. Besides which, their neighbourhood to the Ligurians, to whom each state were equally enemies, could not but contribute to unite them by their common interests; that union enabling each party to make powerful diversions on both sides of the Alps. They accordingly rendered the Romans great services at all times, and also received considerable aids from them upon many occasions.

Justin [p] relates a fact, which would be very much to the honour of the Marseillese, if it were well authenticated. Having received advice that the Gauls had taken and burnt Rome, they deplored that disaster which had befallen their allies, as much as if it had happened to their own city. Nor did they confine themselves to fruitless tears. Out of the gold and silver, either belonging to the public or private persons, they raised the sum in which the Gauls had taxed the conquered as the price of peace, and sent it to Rome. The Romans, infinitely affected with so noble an act of generosity, granted Marseilles the privilege of immunity, and the right of sitting amongst the senators at the public shows. [q] It is certain that, during the war with Hannibal, Marseilles aided the Romans with all manner of good offices; without permitting the ill successes which they experienced in the first years of the war, and which had deprived them of almost all their allies, to shake their fidelity in the least.

[o] Strab. l. iv. p. 180.
[p] Justin. l. xliii. c. 5.
[q] Liv. l. xxi. n. 20, 25, 26. Lib. xxvi. n. 19. Lib. xxvii. n. 36.

In the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey, that city observed a conduct which well denotes the wisdom of its government. Cæsar, [r] against whom they had shut their gates, caused the fifteen senators who were in supreme authority to come to his camp, and represented to them that he was sorry the war should begin by attacking their city; that they ought rather to submit to the authority of all Italy, than to abandon themselves blindly to the desires of one man: and he added all the motives most capable of persuading them. After having made their report to the senate, they returned into the camp, and gave Cæsar this answer: * That they knew the Roman people were divided into two parties: that it did not belong to them to determine which had the right on their side: that the two heads of those parties were equally the protectors of their city; and at the same time its friends and benefactors. That for this reason, obliged to express their gratitude alike for both, it was incumbent upon them neither to assist nor receive the one into their city or ports to the prejudice of the other. They [s] suffered a long siege, in which they showed all possible valour; but at length, the extreme necessity to which they were reduced, by the want of every thing, obliged them to surrender. However enraged Cæsar was at so obstinate a resistance, he could not refuse to the ancient reputation of the city, the favour of saving it from being plundered, and of preserving its citizens.

I should have considered myself as in some measure detracting from the glory of the French nation, and from that of a city which holds one of the highest

[r] Cæs. in Bel. Civ. l. i. [s] Cæs. in Bel. Civ. l. ii.

* *Intelligere se divisum esse populum in partes duas: neque sui judicii, neque suarum virium discernere utra pars justiorem habeat causam: principes verò earum esse partium Cn. Pompeium et C. Cæsarem patronos civitatis.—Paribus eorum beneficiis puram se quoque voluntatem tribuere debere, et neutrum eorum, contra alterum juvare, aut urbe aut portubus recipere.*

ranks in the kingdom, if I had not collected in this place part of those favourable reports which antiquity makes of it. I hope the reader will pardon this digression; which, besides, comes within my plan, and forms part of the Grecian history.

The affairs of Greece, Bithynia, Pergamus, and some other countries, which I thought it necessary to treat in a series, and without interruption, have made me suspend those of Macedonia, Syria, and Egypt; to which it is now time to return. I shall begin with Macedonia.

SECT. III. *Andriscus, who gave himself out for the son of Perseus, makes himself master of Macedonia, and causes himself to be proclaimed king. The prætor Juventius attacks him, and is killed in battle with part of his army. Metellus, who succeeds him, retrieves that loss. The usurper is overthrown, taken, and sent to Rome. A second and third usurper are also defeated.*

FIFTEEN or sixteen years[t] after the defeat and death of Perseus, Andriscus of Adramyttium, a city of Troas, in Asia Minor, a person of the meanest birth, giving himself out for the son of Perseus, took upon him the name of Philip, and entered Macedonia, in hopes of making the inhabitants of the country acknowledge him for their king. He had invented a story in regard to his birth, which he reported wherever he passed, pretending that he was the son of Perseus by a concubine, and that the prince his father had caused him to be secretly brought up at Adramyttium, that, in case of ill fortune in the war against the Romans, some shoot of the royal line might remain. That after the death of Perseus, he had been nurtured and brought up at Adramyttium, A. M. 3852. Ant. J. C. 152.

[t] Epitom. Liv. l. xlviii.—l. Zonar. ex Dione. Pat. l. i. c. 11. Florus, l. ii. c. 14.

till he was twelve years of age, and that the person who passed for his father, finding himself at the point of death, had revealed the secret to his wife, and intrusted her with a writing, signed by Perseus with his own hand, which attested all that has been said; which writing she was to deliver to him (Philip) as soon as he should attain to years of discretion. He added, that her husband having conjured her absolutely to conceal the affair till then, she had been most faithful in keeping the secret, and had delivered that important writing to him at the appointed time; pressing him to quit the country before the report should reach the ears of Eumenes, the declared enemy of Perseus, lest he should cause him to be put to death. He was in hopes that he should be believed upon his own word, and make Macedonia rise in his favour. When he saw that every thing there continued quiet, he retired into Syria, to the court of Demetrius Soter, whose sister Perseus had espoused. That prince, who immediately perceived the fraud, caused him to be seized and sent to Rome.

As he did not produce any proof of his pretended nobility, and had nothing in his mien or manners that expressed the prince, no great notice was taken of him at Rome, and he was treated with great contempt, without much trouble to keep a strict guard upon him, or to confine him close. He took advantage of the negligence of his guards, and made his escape from Rome. Having found means to raise a considerable army amongst the Thracians, who entered into his views for the sake of delivering themselves by his means from the Roman yoke, he made himself master of Macedonia, either by consent or force, and assumed the marks of the royal dignity. Not content with this first conquest, which had cost him little, he attacked Thessaly, and subjected a part of it to his obedience.

A. M. 3854. Ant. J. C. 150.

The affair then began to seem more important to the Romans. They elected Scipio Nasica to go thither, and appease this tumult in its birth, deem-

ing him well qualified for that commission. He had, indeed, the art of managing men's minds, and of bringing them into his measures by persuasion; and if he should find it necessary to decide this affair by arms, he was very capable of forming a project with wisdom, and executing it with valour. As soon as he arrived in Greece, and had been fully informed of the state of affairs in Macedonia and Thessaly, he gave the senate advice of them; and, without loss of time, visited the cities of the allies, in order to the immediate raising of troops for the defence of Thessaly. The Achæans, who continued at that time the most powerful people of Greece, supplied him with the greatest number, forgetting past subjects of discontent. He presently took from the false Philip all the places he had possessed himself of in Thessaly, and drove him back into Macedonia.

However, it was plainly seen at Rome, from Scipio's letters, that Macedonia had occasion for a speedy support. The prætor, P. Juventius Thalna, had orders to repair thither as soon as possible with an army, which he did without loss of time. But looking upon Andriscus as only a pageant king, he did not think it incumbent upon him to take any great precautions against him, and engaged precipitately in a battle, wherein he lost his life, with part of his army; the rest saving themselves only by favour of the night. The victor, elate with this success, and believing his authority sufficiently established, abandoned himself to his vicious inclinations without any moderation or reserve; as if the being truly a king consisted in knowing no law nor rule of conduct but his passions. He was covetous, proud, insolent, and cruel. Nothing was seen every where but violence, confiscations of estates, and murders. Taking advantage of the terror occasioned by the defeat of the Roman army, he soon recovered all he had lost in Thessaly. An embassy sent to him from the Carthaginians, who were at that time actually at

A. M. 3855. Ant. J. C. 149.

war with the Romans, promising him speedy supplies, very much augmented his courage.

A. M. 3856. Ant. J. C. 148. Q. Cæcilius Metellus, lately elected prætor, had succeeded Juventius. Andriscus had resolved to advance to meet him, but did not think it proper to remove far from the sea, and halted at Pydna, where he fortified his camp. The Roman prætor soon followed him. The two armies were in view of each other, and skirmished every day. Andriscus gained an advantage of some consequence in a small combat of the cavalry. Success generally blinds and proves fatal to people of little experience. Andriscus, believing himself superior to the Romans, sent off a great detachment to defend his conquests in Thessaly. This was a gross error; and Metellus, whose vigilance nothing escaped, did not fail to take advantage of it. The army that remained in Macedonia was beaten, and Andriscus obliged to fly. He retired amongst the Thracians, from whom he returned soon after with another army. He was so rash as to hazard another battle, which was still less successful than the former. He had above five-and-twenty thousand men killed in these two battles; and nothing was wanting to the Roman glory, but to seize Andriscus, who had taken refuge with a petty king of Thrace, to whose fidelity he had abandoned himself. But the Thracians did not stand much upon breach of faith, and made that conducive to their interest. That prince delivered up his guest and suppliant into the hands of Metellus, to avoid drawing upon himself the wrath and arms of the Romans: Andriscus was sent to Rome.

Another adventurer, who also called himself the son of Perseus, and took upon him the name of Alexander, had the same fate with the first, except being seized by Metellus: he retired into Dardania, where he effectually concealed himself.

It was at this time that Macedonia was entirely subjected to the Romans, and reduced into a province.

A third usurper, some years after, appeared again upon the stage, and set himself up as the son of Perseus, under the name of Philip. His pretended royalty was but of short duration. He was overcome, and killed in Macedonia by Tremellius, afterwards surnamed *Scrofa*, from having said that he would disperse the enemy, *ut Scrofa porcos.*

SECT. IV. *Troubles in Achaia, which declares war against the Lacedæmonians. Metellus sends deputies to Corinth to appease those troubles; they are ill used and insulted. Thebes and Chalcis join the Achæans. Metellus, after having ineffectually exhorted them to peace, gives them battle, and defeats them. The consul Mummius succeeds him, and after having gained a battle, takes Corinth, sets it on fire, and entirely demolishes it. Greece is reduced into a Roman province. Various actions and death of Polybius. Triumphs of Metellus and Mummius.*

METELLUS, after having pacified [u] Macedonia, continued there some time. Great commotions had arisen amongst the Achæan league, occasioned by the temerity and avarice of those who held the first offices in it. The resolutions of their assemblies were no longer guided by reason, prudence, and equity, but by the interest and passions of the magistrates, and the blind caprice of an untractable multitude. The Achæan league and Sparta had sent ambassadors to Rome, upon an affair about which they were divided. Damocritus, notwithstanding, who was the supreme magistrate of the Achæans, had caused war to be declared against Sparta. Metellus had sent to desire that hostilities might be suspended till the arrival of the commissioners from

A. M. 3857. Ant. J. C. 147.

[u] Pausan. in Achaic. p. 421—428. Polyb. Legat. cxliii. cxliv. Id. in Excerpt. de Virt. et Vit. p. 181—189. Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 1. Flor. l. ii. c. 16.

Rome, who had been appointed for terminating their differences. But neither he, nor Diæus, who succeeded him, paid any regard to that request. Both of them entered Laconia with their troops, and laid waste the country.

The commissioners being arrived, the assembly was summoned to Corinth; (Aurelius Orestes was at the head of the commission.) The senate had given them orders to weaken the body of the league; and, for that end, to separate as many cities as they could from it. Orestes notified to the assembly the decree of the senate; whereby Sparta, Corinth, Argos, Heraclea near mount Oeta, and Orchomenus of Arcadia, were secluded from the league, under pretence that those cities did not originally compose a part of the body of the Achæans. When the deputies quitted the assembly, and reported this decree to the multitude, they grew furious, and fell upon all the Lacedæmonians they found in Corinth; tore those out of the house of the commissioners who had taken refuge there; and would have treated themselves no better, had they not escaped their violence by flight.

Orestes, and his colleagues, on their return to Rome, gave an account of what had passed. The senate was highly incensed at it, and immediately deputed Julius, with some other commissioners, into Achaia; but instructed them to complain with moderation, and only to exhort the Achæans not to give ear to bad counsels, lest by their imprudence they should incur disgrace with the Romans, a misfortune it was in their power to avoid, by punishing those who had exposed them to it. Carthage was not yet taken, so that it was necessary to act with caution in regard to allies so powerful as the Achæans. The commissioners met on their way a deputy sent by the seditious to Rome: they carried him back with them to Egium, where the diet of the nation had been summoned to assemble. They spoke in it with great moderation and mildness. They did

not let slip a single word in their discourse concerning the ill treatment of the commissioners, or else made a better excuse for it than the Achæans themselves would have done; neither did they make any mention of the cities they had been desirous of separating from the league. They confined themselves to exhorting the assembly not to aggravate their first fault, nor to irritate the Romans any further; and to leave Lacedæmonia in peace. Such moderate remonstrances were extremely agreeable to all the persons of sense in the assembly. But Diæus, Critolaus, and their faction, all chosen out of the vilest, most impious, and most pernicious persons in each city, blew up the flames of discord; insinuating that the lenity of the Romans proceeded only from the bad condition of their affairs in Africa, where they had been worsted in several engagements, and from the fear they were in lest the Achæan league should declare against them.

The commissioners, however, were treated with sufficient deference. They were told that Thearidas should be sent to Rome; that they had only to repair to Tegæa, * to treat there with the Lacedæmonians, and to incline them to peace. They went thither accordingly, and persuaded the Lacedæmonians to an accommodation with the Achæans, and to suspend all hostilities till new commissioners should arrive from Rome to pacify all differences. But Critolaus's cabal took their measures in such a manner, that nobody, except that magistrate, went to the congress, and he did not arrive there till he was almost no longer expected. Conferences were held with the Lacedæmonians; but Critolaus would not accede to any measures. He said that he was not empowered to decide any thing without the consent of the nation, and that he would report the affair in the general diet, which could not be summoned in less than six months. That mean artifice, or rather breach of faith, exceedingly offended Ju-

* A city on the banks of the Eurotas.

lius. After having dismissed the Lacedæmonians, he set out for Rome, where he described Critolaus as a violent and extravagant man.

The commissioners were no sooner out of Peloponnesus, than Critolaus ran from city to city during the whole winter, and summoned assemblies, under colour of communicating what had been said to the Lacedæmonians, in the conferences held at Tegæa, but, in fact, to vent invectives against the Romans, and to put an odious construction upon all they had said, in order to inspire the same spirit of animosity and aversion which he himself had against them: and he succeeded but too well. He, besides, prohibited all judges from prosecuting and imprisoning any Achæan for debt, till the conclusion of the affair between the diet and Lacedæmon. By that means, whatever he said, had all the effect he desired, and disposed the multitude to receive such orders as he thought fit to give them. Incapable of forming a right judgment of future consequences, they suffered themselves to be caught with the bait of the first advantage he proposed to them.

Metellus having received advice in Macedonia of the troubles in Peloponnesus, deputed thither four Romans of distinction, who arrived at Corinth at the time the council was assembled there. They spoke in it with abundance of moderation; exhorting the Achæans not to draw upon themselves, by imprudent rashness and levity, the resentment of the Romans. They were treated with contempt, and ignominiously turned out of the assembly. An innumerable crowd of workmen and artificers gathered about them, and insulted them. All the cities of Achaia were at that time in a kind of delirium; but Corinth was far more frantic than the rest, and abandoned to a kind of madness. They had been persuaded that Rome intended to enslave them all, and absolutely to destroy the Achæan league.

Critolaus seeing with pleasure that every thing succeeded to his wishes, harangued the multitude, in-

flamed them against the magistrates, who did not enter into his views; inveighed against the ambassadors themselves, animated them against the Romans; and gave them to understand, that it was not without having previously well concerted his measures that he had undertaken to make head against the Romans; that he had kings in his party, and that republics were also ready to join it. By these seditious discourses he prevailed to have war declared against the Lacedæmonians, and, in consequence, indirectly against the Romans. The ambassadors then separated. One of them repaired to Lacedæmon, to observe the motions of the enemy; another set out for Naupactus; and two waited the arrival of Metellus at Athens.

The magistrate of the Bœotians, whose name was Pytheas, equally rash and violent with Critolaus, entered into his measures, and engaged the Bœotians to join their arms with those of the Achæans: they were discontented with a sentence Rome had given against them. The city of Chalcis suffered itself also to be drawn into their party. The Achæans, with such feeble aids, believed themselves in a condition to support all the weight of the Roman power; so much were they blinded by their rage and fury.

The Romans had chosen Mummius for one of the consuls, and charged him with the Achæan war. Metellus, to deprive him of the glory of terminating this war, sent new ambassadors to the Achæans, and commissioned them to promise that the Roman people should forget all that had passed, and pardon their faults, if they would return to their duty, and consent that certain cities, which had been nominated before, should be dismembered from the league. This proposal was rejected with disdain. Upon which Metellus advanced with his troops against the rebels. He came up with them near the city of Scarphæa in Locris, and obtained a considerable victory over them, in which he took more than a thousand prisoners. Critolaus disappeared in the battle, without its being known what became of him. It was supposed, that

A. M. 3850. Ant. J. C. 146.

in the flight he had fallen into the marshes, and been drowned. Diæus took upon him the command in his stead, gave liberty to the slaves, and armed all the Achæans and Arcadians capable of bearing arms. That body of troops amounted to fourteen thousand foot and six hundred horse. He gave orders, besides, for the raising of troops in every city. The exhausted cities were in the utmost desolation. Many private persons, reduced to despair, laid violent hands upon themselves; others abandoned an unhappy country, where they foresaw their destruction was inevitable. Notwithstanding the extremity of these misfortunes, they never thought of adopting the only expedient that could prevent them. They detested the rashness of their chiefs, and nevertheless came into their measures.

Metellus, after the battle before-mentioned, fell in with a thousand Arcadians in Bœotia, near Chæronæa, who were endeavouring to return into their own country: these were all put to the sword. From thence he marched with his victorious army to Thebes, which he found almost entirely deserted. Moved with the deplorable condition of that city, he ordered that the temples and houses should be spared; and that none of the inhabitants, either in the city or country, should be made prisoners or put to death. He excepted from that number Pytheas, the author of all their miseries, who was brought to him, and put to death. From Thebes, after having taken Megara, the garrison of which had retired upon his approach, he made his troops march to Corinth, where Diæus had shut himself up. He sent thither three of the principal persons of the league, who had taken refuge with him, to exhort the Achæans to return to their duty, and accept the conditions of peace offered them. Metellus ardently desired to terminate the affair before the arrival of Mummius. The inhabitants, on their side, were equally desirous of seeing a period of their misfortunes; but that was not in their power, the faction

of Diæus disposing of every thing. The deputies were thrown into prison, and would have been put to death, if Diæus had not seen the multitude extremely enraged at the punishment he had inflicted upon Sosicrates, who talked of surrendering to the Romans. The prisoners were therefore dismissed.

Things were in this condition when Mummius arrived. He had hastened his march, from the fear of finding every thing pacified at his arrival; and lest another should have the glory of concluding this war. Metellus resigned the command to him, and returned into Macedonia. When Mummius had assembled all his troops, he advanced to the city, and encamped before it. A body of his advanced guard being negligent upon their post, the besieged made a sally, attacked them vigorously, killed many, and pursued the rest almost to the entrance of their camp. This small advantage very much encouraged the Achæans, and thereby proved fatal to them. Diæus offered the consul battle. The latter, to augment his rashness, kept his troops within the camp, as if fear prevented him from accepting it. The joy and presumption of the Achæans rose to an inexpressible height. They advanced furiously with all their troops, having placed their wives and children upon the neighbouring eminences, to be spectators of the battle, and caused a great number of carriages to follow them, for the purpose of loading them with the booty they should take from the enemy; so fully did they reckon upon the victory.

Never was confidence more rash or ill-founded. The faction had removed from the service and councils all such as were capable of commanding the troops, or conducting public business, and had substituted others in their room, without either talents or ability; in order that they might be more absolute masters of the government, and rule without opposition. The chiefs, without military knowledge, valour, or experience, had no other merit than a blind and frantic rage. They had already committed an excess

of folly in unnecessarily hazarding a battle, which was to decide their fate, instead of thinking of a long and brave defence in so strong a place as Corinth, and of obtaining good conditions by a vigorous resistance. The battle was fought near Leucopetra,* and the defile of the isthmus. The consul had posted part of his horse in an ambuscade, which they quitted at a proper time, for charging the Achæan cavalry in flank; who, surprised by an unforeseen attack, gave way immediately. The infantry made a little more resistance; but, as it was neither covered nor sustained by the horse, it was soon broken and put to flight. If Diæus had retired into the place, he might have held out there for some time, and obtained an honourable capitulation from Mummius, whose sole aim was to put an end to the war. But abandoning himself to despair, he rode full speed to Megalopolis, his native country; and having entered his house, set fire to it, killed his wife to prevent her falling into the hands of the enemy, drank poison, and thus ended his life in a manner worthy of the many crimes he had committed.

After this defeat, the inhabitants lost all hopes of defending themselves. As they found they were without counsel, leaders, courage, or fixed views, nobody had any thoughts of rallying the wreck of the army, in order to make any further resistance, and oblige the victor to grant them some tolerable conditions. So that all the Achæans who had retired into Corinth, and most of the citizens, quitted it the following night, to save themselves where they could. The consul having entered the city, abandoned it to be plundered by the soldiers. All the men who were left in it were put to the sword, and the women and children sold; and after the statues, paintings, and richest furniture were removed, in order to their being carried to Rome, the houses were set on fire, and the whole city continued universally in flames for

* This place is not known.

several days. It is pretended, though on no good ground, that the gold, silver, and brass, which were melted, and ran together in this conflagration, formed a new and precious metal. The walls were afterwards demolished, and razed to their very foundations. All this was executed by order of the senate, to punish the insolence of the Corinthians, who had violated the law of nations in their treatment of the ambassadors sent to them by Rome.

Thus was Corinth ruined, the same year that Carthage was taken and destroyed by the Romans, nine hundred and fifty-two years after its foundation by Aletes the son of Hippotes, sixth in descent from Hercules. It does not appear that they had any thoughts of raising new troops for the defence of the country, or summoned any assembly to deliberate upon the measures it was necessary to take; nor that any one took upon him to propose any remedy for the public calamities, or endeavoured to appease the Romans, by sending deputies to implore their clemency. One would have thought from this general inactivity, that the Achæan league had been entirely buried in the ruins of Corinth; so much had the dreadful destruction of that city alarmed, and universally dismayed, the people.

The cities that had joined in the revolt of the Achæans, were also punished by the demolishing of their walls, and by being disarmed. The ten commissioners sent by the senate to regulate the affairs of Greece, in conjunction with the consul, abolished the popular government in all the cities, and established magistrates in them, who were to have a certain revenue out of the public funds. In other respects, they were left in possession of their laws and liberty. They abolished also all the general assemblies held by the Achæans, Bœotians, Phocæans, and other people of Greece; but they were re-established soon after. Greece, from that time, was reduced into a Roman province, called the province of Achaia, be-

cause at the taking of Corinth, the Achæans were the most powerful people of Greece: the Roman people sent a prætor thither every year to govern it.

Rome, by destroying Corinth in this manner, thought proper to show that example of severity, in order to strike terror into other nations, whom its too great clemency rendered bold, rash, and presuming, from the hope they had of obtaining from the Roman people pardon for their faults. Besides which, the advantageous situation of that city, where such as revolted might lodge themselves, and make it a place of arms against the Romans, determined them to ruin it entirely. *Cicero, who did not disapprove of Carthage and Numantia being used in that manner, could have wished that Corinth had been spared.

The booty taken at Corinth was sold, and considerable sums raised from it. Amongst the paintings, there was a piece drawn by the most celebrated † hand in Greece, [x] representing Bacchus, the beauty of which was not known to the Romans, who were at that time entirely ignorant in the polite arts. Polybius, who was then in the country, as I shall soon observe, had the mortification to see that painting, serve the soldiers for a table to play at dice upon. It was adjudged to Attalus, in the sale made of the booty, for six hundred thousand sesterces, that is, about three thousand six hundred and twenty-five pounds sterling. Pliny mentions another picture of the same painter's, which the same Attalus purchased for a hundred talents, or a hundred thousand crowns. That prince's riches were immense, and were become

[x] Strab. l. viii. p. 381. Plin. l. vii. c. 38. & l. xxxv. c. 4. & 10.

* *Majores nostri—Carthaginem et Numantiam funditus sustulerunt. Nollem Corinthum. Sed credo illos secutos opportunitatem loci maximè, ne posset aliquando ad bellum faciendum locus ipse adhortari.* Cic. de Offic. l. i. n. 35.

† This painter was called Aristides. The picture mentioned here was in such estimation, that it was commonly said, All paintings are nothing in comparison to the Bacchus.

a proverb: *Attalicis conditionibus.* Nevertheless, those sums seem repugnant to probability. Be this as it may, the consul, surprised that the price of the painting in question should rise so high, interposed his authority, and retained it, contrary to public faith, and notwithstanding the complaints of Attalus; because he imagined there was some hidden virtue in the piece, unknown to him. He did not act in that manner for his private interest, nor with the view of appropriating it to himself, since he sent it to Rome, to be applied in adorning the city. * In doing which, says Cicero, he adorned and embellished his house much more essentially than if he had placed that picture in it. The taking of the richest and most opulent city of Greece, did not enrich him one farthing. Such noble disinterestedness was at that time common in Rome, and seemed less the virtue of private persons, than of the age itself. To take the advantage of office and command for enriching a man's self, was not only shameful and infamous, but a criminal abuse. The painting we speak of, was set up in the temple of Ceres, whither judges went to see it through curiosity, as a masterpiece of art; and it remained there till it was burnt with that temple.

Mummius was a great warrior, and a worthy man, but had neither learning, knowledge of the arts, nor taste for painting or sculpture; the merit of which he did not discern; not believing there was any difference between picture and picture, or statue and statue, nor that the name of the great masters in those arts gave them their value. This he fully exemplified upon the present occasion. † He had or-

* *Numquid Lucius Mummius copiosior, cùm copiosissimam urbem funditus sustulisset? Italiam ornare, quàm domum suam, maluit. Quanquam Italiâ ornatâ, domus ipsa mihi videtur ornatior. Laus abstinentiæ non hominis est solùm, sed etiam temporum——Habere quæstui remp. non modò turpe est, sed sceleratum etiam et nefarium.* Cic. de Offic. l. i. n. 76, 77.

† *Mummius tam rudis fuit, ut captâ Corintho, cùm maximorum artificum perfectas manibus tabulas ac statuas in Italiam portandas*

dered persons to take the care of transporting many of the paintings and statues of the most excellent masters to Rome. Never would loss have been so irreparable, as that of such a deposit, consisting of the master-pieces of those rare artists, who contributed, almost as much as the great captains, to the rendering of their age glorious to posterity. Mummius, however, in recommending the care of that precious collection to those to whom he confided them, threatened them very seriously, that if the statues, paintings, and other things, with which he intrusted them, should be either lost, or spoiled upon the way, he would oblige them to find others at their own cost and charges.

Were it not to be wished, says an historian, who has preserved to us this fact, that this happy ignorance still subsisted; and would not such grossness be infinitely preferable, in regard to the public good, to the extreme delicacy of taste of the present age for such sort of rarities? He spoke at a time when that taste for excellent paintings gave the magistrates an occasion for committing all manner of frauds and robberies in the provinces.

I have said that Polybius, in returning into Peloponnesus, had the affliction to see the destruction and burning of Corinth, and his country reduced into a province of the Roman empire. If any [y] thing was capable of giving him consolation in so mournful a conjuncture, it was the opportunity of defending the memory of Philopœmen, his master in the science of war. I have already observed, that a Roman, having taken it into his head to have the statues erected to that hero taken down, had the impudence to prosecute him criminally, as if he had been

locaret, juberet prædici conducentibus, si eas perdidissent, novas eos reddituros. Non tamen puto dubites, Vinici, quin magis pro republicâ fuerit, manere adhuc rudem Corinthiorum intellectum, quàm in tantum ea intelligi; et quin hâc prudentiâ illa imprudentia decori publico fuerit convenientior. Vell. Paterc. l. i. n. 13.

[y] Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 190—192.

still alive, and to accuse him before Mummius, of having been an enemy to the Romans, and of having always opposed their designs to the utmost of his power. The accusation was extravagant, but had some colour in it, and was not entirely without foundation. Polybius boldly took upon him his defence. He represented Philopœmen as the greatest captain Greece had produced in the latter times: that he might, perhaps, have occasionally carried his zeal for the liberty of his country a little too far; but that he had rendered the Roman people considerable services upon several occasions; as in their wars against Antiochus and the Ætolians. The commissioners, before whom he pleaded so noble a cause, moved with his reasons, and still more with his gratitude for his master, decreed that the statues of Philopœmen should continue as they were in every city where they had been erected. Polybius, taking the advantage of Mummius's good disposition, demanded also the statues of Aratus and Achæus; which were granted him, though they had already been carried out of Peloponnesus into Acarnania. The Achæans were so charmed with the zeal which Polybius had expressed upon this occasion for the honour of the great men of his country, that they erected a statue of marble to himself.

He gave at the same time a proof of his disinterestedness, which did him as much honour amongst his citizens, as his defence of the memory of Philopœmen. After the destruction of Corinth, it was thought proper to punish the authors of the insult offered to the Roman ambassadors, and their estates and effects were sold by auction. When those of Diæus were put up, who had been the principal in that affront, the ten commissioners ordered the quæstor who sold them, to let Polybius select whatever he thought fit out of them, without taking any thing from him upon that account. He refused that offer, advantageous as it appeared, and would have thought himself in some measure an accomplice of that wretch's crimes, had he accepted any part of

his effects; beside which, he believed it infamous to enrich himself out of the spoils of his fellow-citizen. He would not only accept nothing himself, but exhorted his friends not to desire any thing of what had appertained to Diæus; and all that followed his example were extremely applauded.

This action made the commissioners[z] conceive so high an esteem for Polybius, that upon their leaving Greece, they desired him to go through all the cities which had been lately conquered, and to accommodate their differences, till time had accustomed them to the change which had been made, and to the new laws prescribed them. Polybius discharged that honourable commission with so much mildness, justice, and prudence, that no farther contests arose in Achaia, either in regard to the government in general, or the affairs of private persons. In gratitude for so great a benefit, statues were erected to him in different places; upon the base of one of which was this inscription: "That Greece would have been "guilty of no errors, if she had hearkened from the "first to the counsels of Polybius; but, that after "she had committed these errors, he alone had been "her deliverer."

Polybius, after having established order and tranquillity in his country, returned to join Scipio at Rome, from whence he accompanied him to Numantia, at the siege of which he was present. When Scipio was dead, he returned into Greece; and having enjoyed there [a] the esteem, gratitude, and affection of his beloved citizens, he died at the age of fourscore and two years, of a hurt he received by a fall from his horse.

Metellus, upon his return to Rome, was honoured with a triumph, as conqueror of Macedonia and Achaia, and surnamed Macedonicus. The false king, Andriscus, was led before his chariot. Amongst the spoils, he caused what was called the *troop of Alexander the Great* to be carried in the procession.

[z] Polyb. in Excerpt. p. 190, &c. [a] Lucian in Macrob. p. 142.

That prince, at the battle of the Granicus, having lost five-and-twenty of his friends, ordered Lysippus, the most excellent artist in that way, to make in honour of each of them, an equestrian statue, to which he added his own. These statues were set up in Dium, a city of Macedonia. Metellus caused them to be transported to Rome, and adorned his triumph with them.

Mummius obtained also the honour of a triumph; and, in consequence of having conquered Achaia, was surnamed Achaicus. He exhibited a great number of statues and paintings in his triumph, which were afterwards the ornaments of the public buildings at Rome, and of several other cities of Italy; but not one of them entered the conqueror's own house.

SECT. V. *Reflections upon the causes of the grandeur, declension, and ruin of Greece.*

AFTER having seen the final ruin of Greece, which has supplied us through a series of so many ages with such fine examples of heroic virtues and memorable events, we may be permitted to retrace our steps, and consider succinctly, and at one view, its rise, progress, and declension. The whole time of its duration may be divided into four ages.

The first and second ages of Greece.

I shall not dwell upon the ancient origin of the Greeks, nor the fabulous times before the Trojan war; which make the first age, and constitute, if I may so say, the infancy of Greece.

The second age, which extends from the taking of Troy to the reign of Darius I. king of Persia, was in a manner its youth, in which it formed, fortified,

and prepared itself for those great things which it was afterwards to perform; and laid the foundations of that power and glory, which at length rose so high, and became the admiration of all future ages.

The Greeks, as Monsieur [b] Bossuet observes, whose mental faculties were naturally vigorous, had been cultivated by kings and colonies which came from Egypt, who, settling in several parts of the country, spread, wherever they came, the excellent polity of the Egyptians. It was from them they learned the exercises of the body; wrestling, the horse, foot, and chariot races, and the other combats, which they carried to their highest perfection, by means of the glorious crowns given to the victors in the Olympic games. But the best thing taught them by the Egyptians, was to be docile and obedient, and to suffer themselves to be guided by laws for the good of the public. They were not private persons, who regard nothing but their own interests and concerns, and have no sense of the calamities of the state, but as they suffer themselves, or as the repose of their own family is involved in them: the Greeks were taught to consider themselves and their families as part of a greater body, which was that of the state. The fathers brought up their children in this opinion; and the children were taught from their cradle to look upon their country as their common mother, to whom they more strictly appertained than to their parents.

The Greeks, disciplined thus by degrees, believed they were capable of governing for themselves; and most of the cities formed themselves into republics, under different forms of government, which had all of them liberty for their vital principle: but that liberty was wise, reasonable, and subservient to the laws. The advantage of this government was, that the citizens loved their country the better from transacting

[b] Universal History.

their affairs in common, and from being all equally capable of attaining to its honours and dignities. Besides this, the condition of private persons, to which all returned when they quitted their office, prevented them from abusing an authority, of which they might soon be deprived; whereas, power often becomes haughty, unjust, and oppressive, when under no restraints, and when it is to have a long or continual duration.

The love of labour removed the vices and passions which generally occasion the ruin of states. They led a laborious and busy life, intent upon the cultivation of their lands and of the arts, and not excluding the husbandman nor the artificer from the first dignities of the state; preserving between all the citizens and members of the state a great equality, void of pomp, luxury, or ostentation. He who had commanded the army for one year, fought the next in the rank of a private officer, and was not ashamed of the most common functions in the armies either by land or sea.

The reigning characteristic in all the cities of Greece, was a particular affection for poverty, a mediocrity of fortune, simplicity in buildings, furniture, dress, equipage, domestics, and table. It is surprising to consider the small recompence with which they were satisfied for their application in public employments, and for the services which they had rendered the state.

What might not be expected from a people formed in this manner, educated and nurtured in these principles, and imbued from their earliest infancy with maxims so proper to exalt the soul, and to inspire it with great and noble sentiments? The effects exceeded every idea and every hope that could possibly have been conceived of them.

The third age of Greece.

We now come to the glorious times of Greece, which have been, and will for ever be, the admira-

tion of all ages. The merit and virtue of the Greeks, shut up within the compass of their cities, had hitherto but faintly dawned, and shone with but a feeble ray. To produce and place them in their full light, some great and important occasion was necessary, wherein Greece, attacked by a formidable enemy, and exposed to extreme dangers, was compelled in some measure to quit her home, and to show herself abroad in her true character in open day. And this was supplied by the Persians in their invasions of Greece, first under Darius and afterwards under Xerxes. All Asia, armed with the whole force of the East, overflowed on a sudden, like an impetuous torrent, and came pouring with innumerable troops, both by sea and land, against a little spot of Greece, which seemed under the necessity of being entirely swallowed up and overwhelmed at the first shock. Two small cities, however, Sparta and Athens, not only resist those formidable armies, but attack, defeat, pursue, and destroy the greatest part of them. Let the reader call to mind (for the recollection of them is all I have here in view) the prodigies of valour and fortitude which shone forth at that time, and continued to do so long after on like occasions.

To what were the Greeks indebted for such astonishing successes, so much above all probability, unless to the principles I have mentioned, which were profoundly engraven in their hearts by education, example, and practice; and were become by long habit a second nature in them?

Those principles, we cannot repeat it too often, were the love of poverty, contempt of riches, disregard of self-interest, attachment to the public good, desire of glory, love of their country; but above all, such a zeal for liberty, as no danger was capable of intimidating; and such an irreconcilcable abhorrence for every one who in the slightest degree attempted to encroach upon it, as united their counsels, and put an end to all dissension and discord in a moment.

There was some difference between the republics

as to authority and power, but none in regard to liberty; on that side they were perfectly equal. The states of ancient Greece were exempt from that ambition which occasions so many wars in monarchies; and had no thoughts of aggrandizing themselves, or of making conquests, at the expence of each other. They confined themselves to the cultivation, improvement, and defence of their own territories, but did not endeavour to usurp any thing from their neighbours. The weaker cities, in the peaceable possession of their domain, did not apprehend invasion from the more powerful. This occasioned such a multitude of cities, republics, and states of Greece, which subsisted to the latest times in a perfect independence, retaining their own forms of government, with the laws, customs, and usages, derived from their forefathers.

When we examine with some attention the conduct of these people, either at home or abroad, their assemblies, deliberations, and motives for the resolutions they take, we cannot sufficiently admire the wisdom of their government; and we are tempted to ask ourselves, from whence could arise this greatness of soul in the burghers of Sparta and Athens; whence these noble sentiments, this consummate wisdom in politics, this profound and universal knowledge in the art of war; whether as relating to the invention and construction of machines for the attack and defence of places, or to the drawing up of an army in battle, and disposing all its movements; and lastly, that supreme ability in maritime affairs, which always rendered their fleets victorious, which so gloriously acquired them the empire of the sea, and obliged the Persians to renounce it for ever by a solemn treaty?

We see here a remarkable difference between the Greeks and Romans. The latter immediately after their conquests, suffered themselves to be corrupted by pride and luxury. After Antiochus had submit-

ted to the Roman yoke, Asia, subdued by their victorious arms, conquered in turn its conquerors by its riches and voluptuousness; and that change of manners was very sudden and rapid, especially after Carthage, the haughty rival of Rome, was destroyed. It was not so with the Grecks. Nothing was more brilliant than the victories they had gained over the Persians; nothing more soothing than the glory they had acquired by their great and illustrious exploits. After that so glorious era, the Greeks still persevered for a long time in the same love of simplicity, frugagality, and poverty; the same aversion to pomp and luxury; the same zeal and ardour for the defence of their liberty, and the preservation of their ancient manners. It is well known how much the islands and provinces of Asia Minor, over which the Greeks so often triumphed, were abandoned to effeminate pleasures and luxury: they, however, never suffered themselves to be infected by that contagious softness, and constantly preserved themselves from the vices of the conquered people. It is true, they did not make those countries provinces; but mere intercourse and example alone might have proved very dangerous to them.

The introduction of gold and silver into Sparta, from whence they had till that time been banished under severe penalties, did not happen till about fourscore years after the battle of Salamis, and the ancient simplicity of manners subsisted very long afterwards, notwithstanding that violation of the laws of Lycurgus. As much may be said of the rest of Greece; which did not grow weak and degenerate, but slowly and by degrees. This is what remains for us to show.

The fourth age of Greece.

The principal cause of the weakening and declension of the Greeks was the disunion which rose up amongst themselves. The Persians, who had found

them invincible on the side of arms, as long as their union subsisted, applied their whole attention and policy in sowing the seeds of discord amongst them. For that purpose they employed their gold and silver, which succeeded much better than their steel and arms had done before. The Greeks, covertly attacked in this manner by bribes secretly conveyed into the hands of those who had the greatest share in their government, were divided by domestic jealousies, and turned against themselves those victorious arms which had rendered them superior to their enemies.

Their decline of power from these causes enabled Philip and Alexander to subject them. Those princes, to accustom them to servitude by gentle degrees, assumed as a pretext the design of avenging them upon their ancient enemies. The Greeks fell blindly into that gross snare, which gave the mortal blow to their liberty. Their avengers became more fatal to them than their enemies. The yoke imposed on them by the hands which had conquered the universe could never be removed; those little states were no longer in a condition to shake it off. Greece, from time to time, animated by the remembrance of its ancient glory, roused from its lethargy, and made some attempts to reinstate itself in its ancient condition: but those were the efforts of expiring liberty, ill concerted, and ill sustained, and tended only to augment its slavery; because the protectors, whom it called in to its aid, soon made themselves its masters. So that all it did was to change its fetters, and to make them the heavier.

The Romans at length totally subjected it; but it was by degrees, and with abundance of artifice. As they continually pushed on their conquests from province to province, they perceived that they should find a barrier to their ambitious projects in Macedonia, formidable by its neighbourhood, ad-

vantageous situation, reputation in arms, and very powerful in itself, and by its allies. The Romans artfully applied to the small states of Greece, from whom they had less to fear, and endeavoured to gain them by the attractive charms of liberty, which was their darling passion, and of which they knew how to awaken in them their ancient ideas. After having, with great address, made use of the Greeks to reduce and destroy the Macedonian power, they subjected all those states one after another, under various pretexts. Greece was thus swallowed up at last in the Roman empire, and became a province of it under the name of Achaia.

It did not lose with its power [c] that ardent passion for liberty which was its peculiar characteristic. The Romans, when they reduced it into a province, reserved to the people almost all their privileges; and Sylla, [d] who punished them so cruelly sixty years after, for having favoured the arms of Mithridates, did not abridge those of their liberty who escaped his vengeance. In the civil wars of Italy, the Athenians were seen to espouse with warmth the party of Pompey, [e] who fought for the republic. Julius Cæsar revenged himself upon them no otherwise than by declaring, that he pardoned them out of consideration for their ancestors. But, after Cæsar was killed, their inclination for liberty made them forget his clemency. They erected statues to Brutus and Cassius near those of Harmodius and Aristogiton, the ancient deliverers of Athens, and did not take them down till solicited by Antony, when become their friend, benefactor, and magistrate.

After having been deprived of their ancient power, they still retained another sovereignty, which the Romans could not take from them, and to which

[c] Strab. l. ix. [d] Plut. in Sylla.
[e] Dio. l. xliii. p. 191, et. l. xlvii. p. 339.

themselves were obliged to pay homage. Athens continued always the metropolis of the sciences, the school of polite arts, and the centre and standard of refined taste in all the productions of the mind. Several cities, as Byzantium, Cæsarea, Alexandria, Ephesus, and Rhodes, shared that glory with Athens, and after her example opened schools which became very famous. Rome, haughty as she was, acknowledged this glorious empire. She sent her most illustrious citizens to be finished and refined in Greece. They were instructed there in all the parts of sound philosophy, the knowledge of mathematics, the science of natural philosophy, the rules of moral duties, the art of reasoning with justice and method: all the treasures of eloquence were imbibed there, and the method taught of treating the greatest subjects with propriety, force, elegance, and perspicuity.

A Cicero, already the admiration of the bar, conceived he wanted something, and did not blush to become the disciple of the great masters whom Greece then produced. Pompey, in the midst of his glorious conquests, did not think it a dishonour to him, in passing through Rhodes, to hear the celebrated philosophers who taught there with great reputation, and to make himself in some measure their disciple.

Nothing shows better the respect retained for the ancient reputation of Greece, than a letter of [f] Pliny the younger. He writes in this manner to Maximus, who was appointed governor of that province by Trajan; "Call to mind, my dear Maximus, that you "are going into Achaia, the true Greece; the same "Greece where learning and the polite arts had "their birth; where even agriculture was invented, "according to the common opinion. Remember, "that you are sent to govern free cities and free men, "if ever any such there were; who by their virtues, "actions, alliances, treaties, and religion, have known

[f] Lib. viii. ep. 24.

" how to preserve the liberty they received from na-
" ture. Revere the gods, their founders; respect
" their heroes, the ancient glory of their nation, and
" the sacred antiquity of their cities; the dignity,
" great exploits, and even fables and vanity of that
" people. Remember, it is from those sources that
" we have derived our code of equity; that we did
" not impose our laws upon them, after we had con-
" quered them, but that they gave us theirs at our re-
" quest, before they were acquainted with the power
" of our arms. In a word, it is to Athens you are
" going; it is at Lacedæmon you are to command.
" It would be inhuman and barbarous to deprive
" them of that faint image, that shadow which they
" retain of their ancient liberty."

Whilst the Roman empire was declining, that empire of genius, of the mind, always supported itself, without participating in the revolutions of the other. Greece was resorted to for education and improvement from all parts of the world. In the fourth and fifth centuries, those great lights of the church, St. Basil, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. John Chrysostom, went to Athens, to imbibe, as at their source, all the profane sciences. The emperors themselves,[s] who could not go to Greece, brought Greece in a manner home to them, by receiving the most celebrated philosophers into their palaces, in order to intrust them with the education of their children, and to improve themselves by their instructions. Marcus Aurelius, even whilst he was emperor, went to hear the philosophers Apollonius and Sextus, and to take lessons from them as a common disciple.

By a new kind of victory, unknown before, Greece had imposed its laws on Egypt and the whole East, from whence she had expelled barbarism, and introduced a taste for the arts and sciences in its room; obliging, by a kind of right of conquest, all those nations to receive her language and adopt her cus-

[s] Titus, Antoninus, M. Aurelius, Lucius Verus, &c.

toms: a testimonial highly for the glory of a people, and which argues a much more illustrious superiority than that which is not founded on merit, but solely upon the force of arms. Plutarch observes somewhere, that no Greek ever thought of learning Latin, and that a Roman who did not understand Greek was in no great estimation.

ARTICLE III.

It might be expected, that after the subjection of Macedonia and Greece to the Romans, our history, confined for the future to two principal kingdoms, those of Egypt and Syria should become more clear and intelligible than ever. I am, however, obliged to own, that it will be more obscure and perplexed than it has been hitherto, especially in regard to the kingdom of Syria, in which several kings not only succeed one another in a short space, but sometimes reign jointly, and at the same time, to the number of three or four, which occasions a confusion difficult to unravel, and from which I find it hard to extricate myself. This induces me to prefix in this place the names, succession, and duration of the reigns of the kings of Egypt and Syria. This short chronological abridgement may contribute to cast some light upon facts which are exceedingly complex, and serve as a clue to guide the reader in a kind of labyrinth, where the most clear-sighted will have occasion for assistance. It enlarges the work a little, but it may be passed over or be referred to only when it is necessary to be set right: I insert it here only with that view.

This third article contains the space of a hundred years for the kingdom of Egypt, from the twentieth year of Ptolemy Philometor, to the expulsion of Ptolemy Auletes from the throne; that is, from the

year of the world three thousand eight hundred and forty-five to the year three thousand nine hundred and forty-six.

As to the kingdom of Syria, the same article contains also almost the space of a hundred years from Antiochus Eupator to Antiochus Asiaticus, under whom Syria became a province of the Roman empire; that is, from the year of the world three thousand eight hundred and forty to the year three thousand nine hundred and thirty-nine.

SECT. I. *A Cronological abridgement of the History in the third article.*

A. M. KINGS OF EGYPT.

3824. PTOLEMY PHILOMETOR. He reigned something more than thirty-four years. This article contains only the fourteen latter years of his reign.

Differences between Philometor and his younger brother Euergetes, or Physcon.

3859. PTOLEMY EUERGETES, otherwise called Physcon, brother of Philometor, ascends the throne, and marries Cleopatra, Philometor's wife.

Of the kings of Egypt and Syria, who are mentioned.

KINGS OF SYRIA. A. M.

ANTIOCHUS EUPATOR, aged nine years, succeeds his father Antiochus Epiphanes. He reigns only two years. 3840.

DEMETRIUS SOTER, son of Seleucus Philopator, having escaped from Rome, ascends the throne. 3842.

Bala, under the name of Alexander, giving himself out for the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, seizes the throne of Syria. He is supported by the Romans. 3851.

Demetrius is killed in a battle. He had reigned twelve years.

ALEXANDER BALA. He reigns almost five years. Ptolemy Philometor declares against him in favour of Demetrius Nicator, son of Demetrius Soter. 3854.

DEMETRIUS NICATOR. 3859.

ANTIOCHUS THEOS, son of Bala, supported by Tryphon, seizes part of the kingdom. 3860.

DIODOTUS TRYPHON, after having got rid of his pupil Antiochus, ascends the throne. 3861.

Demetrius marches against the Parthians, who take him prisoner, and confine him. He had reigned seven years. 3863.

A. M. KINGS OF EGYPT.

3874. Physcon expels Cleopatra his wife, and marries her daughter, named also Cleopatra. He is compelled to fly. The Alexandrians restore the government to Cleopatra, his first wife.

3877. Physcon re-ascends the throne.

3882. Physcon gives his daughter Tryphena to Grypus.

3887. Death of Physcon. He had reigned twenty-nine years.

	KINGS OF SYRIA.	A. M.
	ANTIOCHUS SIDETES, brother of Demetrius, after having overthrown Tryphon, and put him to death, is declared king. Cleopatra, Demetrius's wife, marries him.	3864.
	Antiochus Sidetes marches against the Parthians.	3873.
Demetrius Nicator reigns again in Syria.	The Parthians send back Demetrius into Syria. Antiochus is slain.	3874.
Demetrius is killed by Zebina. Cleopatra, wife of Demetrius, retains part of the kingdom after his death.	ALEXANDER ZEBINA, supported by Physcon, expels Demetrius from the throne, who is killed soon after.	3877.
SELEUCUS V. eldest son of Demetrius, is declared king, and soon after killed by Cleopatra.		3880.
ANTIOCHUS GRYPUS, his younger brother, is placed on the throne by Cleopatra.		3881.
	Zebina is overcome by Grypus, and dies soon after.	3882.
Cleopatra designs to poison Grypus, and is poisoned herself.		3884.

A. M. KINGS OF EGYPT.

3887. PTOLEMY LATHYRUS, or SOTER, succeeds Physcon.

Cleopatra, his mother, obliges him to repudiate Cleopatra, his eldest sister, and marry Selene, his youngest sister.

Cleopatra gives the kingdom of Cyprus to Alexander, her youngest son.

3897. Cleopatra expels Lathyrus from Egypt: he had reigned ten years. She sets his younger brother Alexander upon the throne.

3903. She gives her daughter Selene, whom she had taken from Lathyrus, in marriage to Antiochus Grypus.

KINGS OF SYRIA. A. M.

ANTIOCHUS THE CYZICENIAN, son of Cleopatra and Antiochus Sidetes, takes arms against Grypus. 3890.

Cleopatra, whom Lathyrus had been obliged to repudiate, marries the Cyzicenian. She is killed by the order of Tryphena wife of Grypus. 3891.

The Cyzicenian gains a victory over Grypus, and drives him out of Syria. 3892.

Grypus is reconciled with his brother the Cyzicenian.

The two brothers are reconciled, and divide the empire of Syria. 3893.

Cleopatra gives her daughter Selene to Antiochus Grypus. 3903.

Death of Grypus. He had reigned twenty-seven years. 3907.

SELEUCUS, his son, succeeds him.

Antiochus the Cyzicenian is overthrown, and put to death. 3910.

A. M. KINGS OF EGYPT.

3915. Alexander kills his mother Cleopatra.
3916. Alexander is expelled himself: he had reigned nineteen years. He dies soon after. LATHYRUS is recalled.

KINGS OF SYRIA. A. M.

Seleucus is overthrown by Eusebes, and burnt in Mopsuestia.

ANTIOCHUS EUSEBES, son of the Cyzicenian, causes himself to be declared king. 3911.

Eusebes marries Selene, widow of Grypus.

ANTIOCHUS XI. brother of Seleucus, and second son of Grypus, assumes the diadem, and is killed by Eusebes. 3912.

PHILIP, his brother, third son of Grypus, succeeds him. 3913.

DEMETRIUS EUCHERES, fourth son of Grypus, is established upon the throne at Damascus, by the assistance of Lathyrus. 3914.

Eusebes, overthrown by Philip and Demetrius, takes refuge amongst the Parthians. 3916.

He is re-established upon the throne by their means. 3918.

Demetrius having been taken by the Parthians, ANTIOCHUS DIONYSIUS, fifth son of Grypus, is placed upon the throne of Damascus, and is killed the following year.

A. M. KINGS OF EGYPT.

3923. Death of Lathyrus.

ALEXANDER II., son of Alexander I. under Sylla's protection, is chosen king. He marries Cleopatra, otherwise called Berenice, and kills her seventeen days after. He reigned fifteen years.

The Alexandrians expel Alexander.

3939. PTOLEMY AULETES, bastard son of Lathyrus, is placed upon the throne.

KINGS OF SYRIA. A. M.

The Syrians, weary of so many divisions and revolutions, elect as king, TIGRANES KING OF ARMENIA. He reigns by a viceroy fourteen years. 3921.

Eusebes takes refuge in Cilicia, where he remains concealed. 3923.

Selene, his wife, retains part of Phœnicia and Cœle-syria, and gives her two sons a good education.

Tigranes recalls Megadates his viceroy from Syria, who commanded there fourteen years in his name.

Syria being unprovided with troops, ANTIOCHUS ASIATICUS, son of Antiochus Eusebes, takes possession of some part of the country, and reigns there during four years. 3935.

Pompey deprives Antiochus Asiaticus of his dominions, and reduces Syria into a province of the Roman empire. The family of the Seleucidæ is extinct with him. 3939.

SECT. II. *Antiochus Eupator, at the age of nine years, succeeds his father Antiochus Epiphanes in the kingdom of Syria. Demetrius, who had been long a hostage at Rome, demands in vain permission to return to Syria. Celebrated victories of Judas Maccabæus against the generals of the king of Syria, and the king himself in person. Long differences between the two brothers (the Ptolemies, kings of Egypt) terminated at length by a happy peace.*

WE have long lost sight of the * history of the kings of Syria, and that of the kings of Egypt, which are, for the most part, pretty closely connected with each other. I am now going to resume it, and it will not be interrupted any more.

A. M. 3840. Ant. J. C. 164. Antiochus, surnamed Eupator, [h] aged only nine years, succeeded his father, Antiochus Epiphanes, in the kingdom of Syria. The latter, at his death, sent for Philip, his favourite, who had been brought up with him. He gave him the regency of the kingdom during his son's minority, and put his crown, signet, and all other marks of the royal dignity, into his hands; recommending to him, above all things, to employ his whole care in educating his son in such a manner as was most proper to instruct him in the art of reigning.

Philip, on his arrival at Antioch, found that another had already usurped the employment which the late king had confided to him. Lysias, upon the first advice of the death of Epiphanes, had placed his son Antiochus upon the throne, whose governor he was, and had taken upon himself, with the guardianship of the young prince, the reins of government,

[h] Appian. in Syr. p. 117. 1 Maccab. vi. 17. 2 Maccab. ix. 29. & x. 10—13. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. c. 14.

* The last mention made of it is towards the end of Book XVIII. Article II. Sect. ii. and iii.

without any regard to the king's regulation at his death. Philip knew well that he was not at that time in a condition to dispute it with him, and retired into Egypt, in hopes of finding at that court the assistance he wanted to instate him in his right, and to expel the usurper.

Much about the same time, Ptolemy Macron, governor of Cœle-syria and Palestine, from an enemy, which till then he had been to the Jews, became on a sudden their friend; moved, as the Scripture says, with the flagrant injustice which had been committed towards them. He put a stop to the rigour of the persecution against them, and employed his whole influence to obtain a peace for them. By this conduct he gave his enemies occasion to injure him. They prejudiced the king against him, by representing him perpetually as a traitor; because he had in reality betrayed the interests of his first master, Ptolemy Philometor, king of Egypt, who had intrusted him with the government of the island of Cyprus, and had given up that island to Antiochus Epiphanes, upon entering into his service. For how advantageous soever the treason might be, the traitor, as is usual, was hated. At length they so far succeeded by their clamours and cabals, that he was deprived of his government, which was given to Lysias; no other post or pension being conferred on him to support his dignity. He had not strength of mind enough to bear his downfall, and poisoned himself; an end he well deserved for his treason, and the share which he had taken in the cruel persecution of the Jews.

Judas Maccabæus[1] in the mean time was signalizing his valour by several considerable victories over the enemies of the people of God, who continually waged an implacable war against him. The little time that Antiochus Epiphanes survived the favourable inclinations he had expressed for the Jews, would not admit him to revoke in form his decree

[1] 1 Maccab. v. 1—68. 2 Maccab. x. 14—38.

for obliging them to change their religion. The court of Syria, which always considered the Jews as rebels desirous of throwing off its yoke, and was greatly interested in making a nation so powerful, and so near a neighbour, submit to it, had no regard to some transient demonstrations of the dying prince's favour to them. They always persisted in the same principles of policy, and continued to look upon that nation as an enemy, whose sole view was to shake off their chains, and to support themselves in liberty of conscience with regard to religion. Such were the dispositions of Syria towards the Jews.

A. M. 3841. Ant. J. C. 163. Demetrius,[k] son of Seleucus Philopator, who, since the year in which his father died, had remained a hostage at Rome, was in his twenty-third year, when he was informed of the death of Antiochus Epiphanes, and the accession of his son Eupator to the crown, which he pretended to be his right, as the son of Epiphanes's eldest brother. He proposed to the senate his re-establishment upon his father's throne; and to engage them in it, he represented that, having been bred up at Rome, he should always regard it as his native country, the senators as his fathers, and their sons as his brothers. The senate had more regard for the interests of the republic than the right of Demetrius, and thought it more advantageous for the Romans that there should be a king in his minority upon the throne of Syria, than a prince like Demetrius, who might at length become formidable to them. They therefore made a decree to confirm Eupator, and sent Cn. Octavius, Sp. Lucretius, and L. Aurelius, with the character of ambassadors, into Syria, to regulate all things conformably to the treaty made with Antiochus the Great. Their design was to weaken the power of that kingdom by every possible method. The same ambassadors had instructions to accommo-

[k] Polyb. Legat. cvii. Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 3. Appian. in Syr. p. 117.

date, if possible, the differences between the two kings of Egypt.

Lysias,[l] terrified by the victories of Judas Maccabæus, formed an army of fourscore thousand foot, and took with him all the cavalry of the kingdom, with fourscore elephants: at the head of all these forces he marched into Judæa, with the resolution to settle in Jerusalem, as inhabitants, foreigners that worshipped idols. He opened the campaign with the siege of Bethsura, a fortress between Idumæa and Jerusalem. Judas Maccabæus, and the whole people besought the LORD, with tears in their eyes, to send his angel for the preservation of Israel. Full of confidence in GOD, they took the field. When they marched all together, with assured courage, out of Jerusalem, there* appeared a horseman marching before them. He was clothed in a white habit, with armour of gold, and he held a lance in his hand. That sight filled them with new ardour. They threw themselves upon the enemy like lions, killed twelve thousand six hundred men, and obliged the rest to fly, most of them wounded and without arms.

After this check, Lysias,[m] weary of so unsuccessful a war, and, as the Scripture says, "believing "the Jews invincible when supported by the aid of "the Almighty GOD," made a treaty with Judas and the Jewish nation, which Antiochus ratified. One of the articles of peace was, that the decree of Antiochus Epiphanes, which obliged the Jews to conform to the religion of the Greeks, should be revoked and cancelled, and that they should be at liberty to live in all places according to their own laws.

This peace was of no long duration. The neighbouring people were too much the enemies of the

[l] 2 Maccab. xi. 1—38. x. 1—7. xiii. 1—24. 1 Maccab. v. 65—68. vi. 19—63. Joseph. Antiq. lib. xii.

[m] 2 Maccab. xi. 13.

* It was an angel, perhaps St. Michael, the protector of the people of GOD.

Jews to leave them long in repose. Judas overcame them in many battles. Timotheus, one of the king's generals, assembled all his forces, and raised an army of a hundred-and-twenty thousand foot, without including the horse, which amounted to five-and-twenty hundred. Judas, full of confidence in the GOD of armies, marched against him with troops very much inferior as to number. He attacked and defeated him. Timotheus lost thirty thousand men in this battle, and saved himself with great difficulty. This defeat was followed by many advantages on the side of Judas, which proved that GOD alone is the source of valour, intrepidity, and success in war. He showed this in the most sensible manner, by the evident and singular protection which he gave to a people, of whom he was in a peculiar manner the guide and director.

A new army was raised of a hundred thousand foot, with twenty thousand horse, two-and-thirty elephants, and three hundred chariots of war. The king in person, with Lysias the regent of the kingdom, put themselves at the head of it, and entered Judæa. Judas, relying upon the omnipotence of GOD, the creator of the universe, and having exhorted his troops to fight to the last drop of their blood, marched and posted himself in the front of the king's camp. After having given his troops for the word of battle, VICTORY IS OF GOD, he chose the bravest men of his army, and with them, in the night, attacked the king's quarters. They killed four thousand men, and retired, after having filled his whole camp with confusion and dismay.

Though the king knew from thence the extraordinary valour of the Jews, he did not doubt but they would be overpowered at length by the number of his troops and elephants. He resolved therefore to come to a general battle with them. Judas, without being intimidated by the terrible preparations for it, advanced with his army, and gave the king battle, in which the Jews killed a great num-

ber of the enemy. Eleazar, a Jew, seeing an elephant larger than the rest, covered with the king's arms, and believing the king was upon it, sacrificed himself to preserve his people, and to acquire a perpetual name. He forced his way boldly to the elephant through the line of battle, killing and overthrowing all who opposed him. Then placing himself under the beast's belly, he pierced it in such a manner, that it fell and crushed him to death underneath it.

Judas, in the mean time, and his troops, fought with extraordinary resolution. But at length, exhausted by fatigue, and no longer able to support the weight of the enemy, they thought fit to retire. The king followed them, and besieged the fortress of Bethsura. That place, after a long and vigorous defence, was obliged, for want of provisions, to surrender by capitulation.

From thence Antiochus marched against Jerusalem, and besieged the temple. Those who defended it were reduced to the same extremities with the garrison of Bethsura, and would, like them, have been obliged to surrender, if Providence had not relieved them by an unforeseen accident. I have observed, that Philip had retired into Egypt, in hopes of finding assistance there against Lysias. But the disputes which had arisen between the two brothers, who reigned jointly, as has been said elsewhere, soon undeceived him. Finding that he had nothing to expect from that quarter, he returned into the East, assembled some troops of Medes and Persians, and taking advantage of the king's absence during his expedition against Judæa, he seized the capital of the empire. Upon that news, Lysias thought it necessary to make peace with the Jews, in order to turn his arms against his rival in Syria. Peace was accordingly concluded upon very advantageous and honourable conditions. Antiochus swore to observe it, and was admitted to enter the fortifications of the temple, with the sight of which he was

so much terrified, that, contrary to his faith given, and the oath he had sworn when ratifying the peace, he caused them to be demolished before he set out for Syria. The sudden return of Antiochus drove Philip out of Antioch, and put an end to his short regency, and soon after to his life.

A. M. 3842. Ant. J. C. 162. The troubles[n] occasioned by the divisions between the two Ptolemies, which we have just now mentioned, rose so high, that the Roman senate gave orders to the ambassadors they had sent into Syria, to proceed to Alexandria, and to use all their endeavours to reconcile them. Before they arrived there, Physcon, the youngest, surnamed Euergetes, had already expelled his brother Philometor. The latter embarked for Italy, and landed at Brundusium. From whence he went the rest of the way to Rome, on foot, very ill dressed, and with few followers, and demanded of the senate the necessary aid for replacing him upon the throne.

As soon as Demetrius, son of Seleucus Philopator, king of Syria, who was still a hostage at Rome, was apprised of the unhappy condition to which that fugitive prince was reduced, he caused royal robes and an equipage to be got ready for him, that he might appear in Rome as a king, and went to meet him with all he had ordered to be prepared for his use. He found him twenty-six miles, that is, at nine or ten leagues' distance from Rome. Ptolemy expressed great gratitude to him for his goodness, and the honour he did him; but did not think proper to accept his present, nor permit him to attend him the rest of his journey. He finished it on foot, and with the same attendants and habit he had worn till then. In that manner he entered Rome, and took up his lodging with a painter of Alexandria, who had but a very small house. His design, by all these circumstances, was to express

[n] Porphyr. in Cr. Eus. Scalig. p. 60 & 68. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 322. Valer. Max. l. v. c. 1. Polyb. Legat. cxiii. Epit. Liv. l. xlvi.

the misery to which he was reduced, the better, and to move the compassion of the Romans.

When the senate were informed of his arrival, they sent to desire he would come to them; and to excuse their not having prepared a house for his reception, and that he had not been paid the honours at his entry with which it was the custom to treat princes of his rank: they assured him that it was neither for want of consideration for his person, nor out of neglect, but because his coming had surprised them, and had been kept so secret, that they were not apprised of it till after he had entered Rome. Afterwards, having desired him to quit the habit he wore, and to demand an audience of the senate, in order to explain in a full meeting the occasion of his voyage, he was conducted by some of the senators to a house suitable to his birth; and orders were given to the quæstors, or treasurers, to see him served and supplied at the expence of the public, with all things necessary during his residence at Rome.

When they gave him audience, and he had represented his condition to the Romans, they immediately resolved to re-establish him; and deputed two of the senators, with the character of ambassadors, to go with him to Alexandria, and cause their decree to be put in execution. They re-conducted him accordingly, and succeeded in negociating an accommodation between the two brothers. Libya, and the province of Cyrene, were given to Physcon; Philometor had Egypt and the isle of Cyprus; and each of them was declared independent of the other in the dominions assigned them. The treaty and agreement were confirmed with the customary oaths and sacrifices.

But oaths and sacrifices had long been with the generality of princes no more than simple ceremonies and mere forms, by which they did not think themselves bound in the least. And this way of thinking is but too common. Soon after, the youngest

of the two kings, dissatisfied with the partition which had been made, went in person to complain of it to the senate. He demanded that the treaty of partition should be annulled, and that he should be restored to the possession of the isle of Cyprus. He alleged that he had been forced by the necessity of the times to comply with the former proposals, and that, even though Cyprus should be granted him, his share would still be far from equal to his brother's. Menethyllus, whom the elder Ptolemy had deputed to Rome, made it appear that Physcon held not only Libya and Cyrenaica, but his life also, from the goodness of his brother: that he had made himself so much the abhorrence of the people, by his violent proceedings, that they would have left him neither life nor government, had not his brother snatched him from their resentment, by making himself mediator: that at the time he was preserved from this danger, he thought himself too happy in reigning over the region allotted to him; and that both sides had ratified the treaty before the altar of the gods, and sworn to observe their agreement with each other. Quintus and Canuleius, who had negociated the accommodation between the brothers, confirmed the truth of all Menethyllus advanced.

The senate, seeing that in fact the partition was not equal, artfully took advantage of the quarrel between the two brothers, to diminish the strength of the kingdom of Egypt, by dividing it, and granted the younger what he demanded. For such was then the policy of the Romans. It is Polybius who makes this reflection. They made the quarrels and differences of princes the means of extending and strengthening their own power, and behaved in regard to them with so much address, that whilst they acted solely for their own interest, the contending parties were, however, obliged to them. As therefore the great power of Egypt gave them reason to apprehend it would become too formidable

if it fell into the hands of one sovereign, who knew how to use it, they adjudged the isle of Cyprus to Physcon. Demetrius, who did not lose sight of the throne of Syria, and who, on his part, was interested that so powerful a prince as the king of Egypt should not continue in possession of the island of Cyprus, had supported the demand of Physcon with all his influence. The Romans made T. Torquatus and Cn. Merula set out with the latter, to put him in possession of it.

During[o] that prince's stay at Rome, he had often the opportunity of seeing Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, and caused proposals of marriage to be made to her. But as she was the daughter of Scipio Africanus, and the widow of Tiberius Gracchus, who had been twice consul and censor, she rejected his offers, and believed it more honourable to be one of the first ladies of Rome, than queen of Libya with Physcon.

Physcon set out from Rome with the two Roman ambassadors. Their plan was to concert an interview between the two brothers upon the frontier, and by means of a negociation to bring them to that agreement which the senate had fixed. Philometor did not explain himself openly at first. He spun out the affair to as great a length as he could, upon different pretexts, endeavouring to gain time, and taking secret measures against his brother. At length he declared plainly, that he was resolved to stand to the first treaty, and that he would make no other.

The Cyrenæans, in the mean time,[p] informed of the ill conduct of Physcon during the time that he was in possession of the government at Alexandria, conceived so strong an aversion for him, that they resolved to keep him out of their country by force of arms. It was not doubted but Philometor had covertly taken pains to excite these disturbances. Phy- A. M. 3843. Ant. J. C. 161.

[o] Plut. in Tib. Grac. p. 824.

[p] Polyb. Legat. cxxxii. Id. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 197. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 334.

scon, who had been overthrown by the rebels in a battle, having almost lost all hope, sent two deputies with the Roman ambassadors on their return to Rome, with orders to lay his complaints against his brother before the senate, and to solicit their protection. The senate, offended at Philometor's refusal to evacuate the island of Cyprus according to their decree, declared that there was no longer any amity and alliance between him and the Romans, and ordered his ambassador to quit Rome in five days.

Physcon found means to re-establish himself in Cyrenaica; but made himself so generally hated by his subjects, through his ill conduct, that some of them fell upon him, and wounded him in several places, and left him for dead upon the spot. He imputed this to his brother Philometor; and, as soon as he was recovered of his wounds, undertook again a voyage to Rome. He there made his complaints against him to the senate, showed the scars of his wounds, and accused him of having employed the assassins from whom he received them. Though Philometor was the most humane of all princes, and the least to be suspected of so black and barbarous an action, the senate, who were angry at his refusal to submit to the regulation they had made in regard to the isle of Cyprus, gave ear to this false accusation with too much facility. They carried their prejudice so high against him, that they would not so much as hear what his ambassadors had to say in his defence. Orders were sent to them to quit Rome immediately. Besides which, the senate appointed five commissioners to conduct Physcon into Cyprus, and to put him in possession of that island, and wrote to all their allies near it to aid him for that purpose with all their troops.

A. M. 3847. Ant. J. C. 157. Physcon, by this means, with an army which seemed to him sufficient for the execution of his design, landed in the island. Philometor, who had gone thither in person, defeated him, and obliged him to shut himself up in Lapitho, where he was soon

invested, besieged, and at length taken, and put into the hands of the brother whom he had so cruelly injured. Philometor's exceeding goodness appeared upon this occasion. After all that Physcon had done against him, it was expected that, as he now had him in his power, he would make him sensible of his indignation and revenge. He forgave him every thing; and, not contented with pardoning his faults, he even restored him Libya and Cyrenaica, and added further some amends in lieu of the isle of Cyprus. That act of generosity put an end to the war between the two brothers. It was not renewed; and the Romans were ashamed of any longer opposing a prince of such extraordinary clemency. There is no reader who does not secretly pay the homage of esteem and admiration to so generous an action. Such inward sentiments, which are founded in nature, and anticipate all reflections, imply how great and noble it is to forget and pardon injuries, and what a meanness of soul there is in the resentment of the revengeful.

SECT. III. *Octavius, ambassador of the Romans in Syria, is killed there. Demetrius escapes from Rome, puts Eupator to death, ascends the throne of Syria, and assumes the surname of Soter. He makes war against the Jews. Repeated victories of Judas Maccabæus; death of that great man. Demetrius is acknowledged king by the Romans. He abandons himself to drunkenness and debauchery. Alexander Bala forms a conspiracy against him. Demetrius is killed in a battle. Alexander espouses the daughter of Ptolemy Philometor. Temple built by the Jews in Egypt. Demetrius, son of the first of that name, sets up his claim to the throne of Syria. Alexander is destroyed. Ptolemy Philometor dies at the same time.*

A. M. 3842. Ant. J. C. 162.

WE have [q]seen that the principal object of the commission of the three Roman ambassadors, Cn. Octavius, Sp. Lucretius, and L. Aurelius, who went first into Egypt, was to go into Syria, in order to regulate the affairs of that nation. When they arrived there, they found the king had more ships and elephants than had been stipulated by the treaty made with Antiochus the Great after the battle of Sipylus. They caused the ships to be burnt, and the elephants to be killed, which exceeded the number stated in that treaty, and regulated all other matters in such a manner as they thought most to the advantage of the Romans. This treatment seemed insupportable, and exasperated the people against them. A person named Leptines was so incensed at it, that in his rage he fell upon *Octavius whilst he was bathing, and killed him. It was suspected that Lysias, the

[q] Appian. in Syr. p. 117. Polyb. Legat. cxiv. & cxxii. Cicer. Philip. ix. n. 4, 5. Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 3.

* This Octavius had been consul some years before, and

regent of the kingdom, had secretly a hand in this assassination. Ambassadors were immediately sent to Rome, to justify the king, and to protest that he had had no share in the action. The senate sent them back without giving them any answer, to signify, by that silence, their indignation for the murder committed upon the person of Octavius, the examination and punishment of which they reserved to themselves. In the mean time, to do honour to his memory, they erected a statue to him amongst those of the great men who had lost their lives in defence of their country.

Demetrius believed that the displeasure of the Romans against Eupator was a favourable conjuncture, of which it was proper for him to take the advantage, and addressed himself a second time to the senate, to obtain their permission to return into Syria. He took this step contrary to the opinion of the greatest part of his friends, who advised him to make his escape, without saying any thing. The event soon showed him how much they were in the right. As the senate had still the same motives of interest for keeping him at Rome as at first, he received the same answer, and had the mortification to experience a second denial. He had then recourse to the first advice of his friends; and Polybius the historian, who was then at Rome, was one of those who pressed him with the utmost warmth to put it in execution with secrecy and dispatch. He took his advice. After concerting all his measures, he left Rome under pretence of a hunting-match, went to Ostia, and embarked with a small train in a Carthaginian vessel bound for Tyre that waited for him.* It was

was the first of his family who had attained that honour. Cic. Philip. ix. n. 4.—Octavius Cæsar, who became emperor, so well known under the name of Augustus, was of the same family with this Octavius, but of another branch, into which the consular dignity had never entered. Sueton.

* That ship was carrying to Tyre, according to custom, the first fruits of the lands and revenues of Carthage.

three days before it was known at Rome that he had stolen away. All that the senate could do, was some days after to send Tib. Gracchus, L. Lentulus, and Servilius Glaucia, into Syria, to observe what effect the return of Demetrius would produce there.

Demetrius[r] having landed at Tripoli in Syria, a report spread, that the senate had sent him to take possession of his dominions, and had resolved to support him in them. Eupator was immediately looked upon as a lost man, and every one abandoned him to join Demetrius. Eupator and Lysias, seized by their own troops, were delivered up to the new-comer, who ordered them to be put to death. Demetrius saw himself established by this means upon the throne without opposition, and with prodigious rapidity.

One of the first actions of his reign was to deliver the Babylonians from the tyranny of Timarchus and Heraclides, who had been the two great favourites of Antiochus Epiphanes. He had made the first governor, and the second treasurer of that province. Timarchus having added rebellion to his other crimes, Demetrius caused him to be put to death. He contented himself with banishing the other. The Babylonians were so much rejoiced to see themselves freed from the oppression of those two brothers, that upon this occasion they gave their deliverer the title of SOTER, or SAVIOUR, which he bore ever afterwards.

Alcimus, whom Antiochus Eupator had made high-priest of the Jews after the death of Menelaus, not being able to procure himself to be admitted by them in that capacity, because he had profaned the sanctity of the priesthood, by following the impious customs of the Greeks under Antiochus Epiphanes; gathered together all the apostate Jews, who had

[r] 1 Maccab. vii. viii. ix. & 2 Maccab. xiv. Joseph. Antiq. l. xii. xiii. Appian. in Syr. p. 117. Justin. l. xxxiv. c. 3.

taken refuge at Antioch after having been expelled Judæa, and putting himself at their head, came to petition the new king to defend them from the oppressions of Judas and his brothers, venting a thousand calumnies against them. He accused them of having killed all persons of Demetrius's party who fell into their hands, and of having forced him, with all those in his company, to abandon their country, and seek their security elsewhere. Demetrius immediately ordered Bacchides, governor of Mesopotamia, to march into Judæa at the head of an army; and confirming Alcimus in his office, he joined him in commission with Bacchides, and charged them both with the care of this war. Judas rendered all the efforts of this first army ineffectual, as he did also those of a second, which was commanded by Nicanor. The latter, enraged at the last defeat of the troops of Syria, and indignant that a handful of men should make head against such numerous and warlike armies, and knowing that they placed their whole confidence of victory in the protection of the GOD of Israel, and in the promises made in the temple where he was honoured, had uttered a thousand blasphemies against the Almighty and against his temple. He was soon punished for them. Judas engaged him in a bloody battle, and of his army of thirty-five thousand men, not one escaped to carry the news of the defeat to Antioch. The body of Nicanor was found amongst the dead. His head and right hand, which he had lifted up against the temple, threatening to destroy it, were cut off, and placed upon one of the towers of Jerusalem.

Judas, after this complete victory, having some relaxation, sent an embassy to Rome. He saw himself continually attacked by the whole forces of Syria, without being able to rely with good reason upon any treaty of peace. He had no aid to expect from the neighbouring nations, who, far from interesting themselves for the preservation of the Jewish people,

in concert with the Syrians, entertained no thoughts but of extirpating them. He had been informed that the Romans, equally esteemed for their justice and valour, were always ready to support weak nations against the oppression of kings, whose power gave them umbrage. He therefore thought of making an alliance with that people, in order to support himself by their protection against the unjust enterprises of the Syrians. Those ambassadors were very well received by the senate, who passed a decree, by which the Jews were declared the friends and allies of the Romans, and a defensive league was made with them. They even obtained a letter from the senate to Demetrius, by which he was enjoined not to distress the Jews any more, and war was threatened, in case he persevered to do so. But before the ambassadors returned, Judas was dead.

As soon as Demetrius received news of the defeat and death of Nicanor, he gave the command of a powerful army to Bacchides and Alcimus, composed of the choicest of all his troops, and sent them into Judæa. Judas had only three thousand men with him when it arrived there. These were struck with such a panic, that they all abandoned him, except eight hundred men. Judas with that small number, through an excess of valour and confidence, had the boldness to hazard a battle against so numerous an army. He perished, overpowered by multitudes. His loss was deplored throughout all Judæa and at Jerusalem, with all the marks of the keenest affliction, and the government was put into the hands of Jonathan his brother.

Alcimus being dead, after having committed great violences against the true Israelites, and Bacchides being returned to Antioch, the country remained quiet, and was not harassed by the Syrians for two years. Demetrius had most probably received the senate's letter in favour of the Jews, which obliged him to recall Bacchides.

Demetrius* indeed was at this time very cautious in his conduct with regard to the Romans, and used all his endeavours to induce them to acknowledge him king, and to renew the treaty made with the kings his predecessors. Having received advice that the Romans had three ambassadors at the court of Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, he sent Menochares, one of his principal ministers, thither, to enter upon the negociation. Finding at his return, by the report he made of what had passed, that the good offices of those ambassadors were absolutely necessary to his success in that point, he sent again into Pamphylia, and afterwards to Rhodes, to assure them that he would conform entirely to their will; and by the force of pressing solicitations obtained at length, by their means, what he desired. The Romans acknowledged him king of Syria, and renewed the treaties made with that crown. A. M. 3844. Ant. J. C. 160.

To cultivate their amity,† he sent the same Menochares the following year, in conjunction with some others, upon an embassy to Rome. They were charged with a crown that weighed ten thousand pieces* of gold, as a present from him to the senate, in gratitude for their kind treatment of him during the time that he was a hostage at Rome. They carried also with them Leptines and Isocrates, in order to deliver them up, upon account of the assassination of Octavius. This Leptines was the person who killed him at Laodicea. Isocrates was a Greek, by profession a grammarian, who being in Syria at that time, had upon all occasions taken upon him to vindicate that equally base and unjust action. The senate received the ambassadors with all the usual honours, and accepted the present they brought; but would neither hear nor see two vile men, ob- A. M. 3845. Ant. J. C. 159.

* Polyb. Legat. cxx.

† Polyb. Legat. cxxii. Appian. in Syr. p. 118. Diod. Legat. xxv.

* They were worth more than ten thousand pistoles.

jects unworthy of their anger; reserving to themselves, without doubt, the right of exacting, when they pleased, a more distinguished satisfaction for the murder of their ambassador.

It was nearly about this time that Demetrius, as I have observed before, established Holophernes upon the throne of Cappadocia. He was soon after expelled, and took refuge at Antioch. We are going to see how far he carried his ingratitude towards his benefactor.

A. M. 3850. Ant. J. C. 154. Demetrius,[a] who found himself without war or occupation, began to indulge in pleasure, and to lead an idle life, not a little singular and fantastic in the manner of it. He caused a castle to be built near Antioch, flanked with four strong towers, and shut himself up in it, in order to abandon himself entirely on the one side to indolence, not being willing to hear any more mention made of public business, and, on the other, to the pleasure of good cheer and excess of wine. He was drunk at least one half of the day. The memorials, which people were desirous of presenting to him, were never received; justice was not administered; the affairs of the state languished: in a word, there was a general suspension of the government, which soon stirred up the whole people against him. A conspiracy was formed for deposing him. Holophernes, who continued at Antioch, entered into this plot against his benefactor, flattering himself with obtaining the crown if the enterprise succeeded. It was discovered, and Holophernes was thrown in prison. Demetrius would not deprive him of life. He chose rather to spare him, in order to make use of him upon occasion against Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, upon whose crown he had some pretensions.

Notwithstanding the discovery, the conspiracy was

[a] Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 3. Athen. l. x. p. 440. Justin. l. xxxv. c. 1.

not suppressed.[x] The malcontents were secretly supported by Ptolemy Philometor, who had the affair of Cyprus at heart; and by Attalus and Ariarathes, who were anxious to revenge themselves for the war Demetrius had undertaken against them in favour of Holophernes. Those three princes in concert together employed Heraclides in preparing somebody to personate the son of Antiochus Epiphanes, and to set up hereditary pretensions to the crown of Syria. This Heraclides had been, as I have said already, one of the great favourites of Antiochus Epiphanes, and treasurer of the province of Babylon, while Timarchus, his brother, another favourite, was governor of it. At Demetrius's accession to the crown, the two brothers having been convicted of malversation and other crimes, Timarchus had been executed, and the other, having made his escape, had taken up his residence at Rhodes. It was there he took pains to train the man intended for the design I have mentioned. He chose for that purpose a young man named Bala, of mean extraction, but well calculated to act the part assigned him. He modelled him, and instructed him fully in all that it was necessary to say or do.

When he was fully prepared, he began by causing him to be acknowledged by the three kings who were in the secret. He afterwards carried him to Rome, as he did also Laodice, the real daughter of Antiochus Epiphanes, for the better concealing of the imposture. By force of address and solicitations, he caused him to be acknowledged there also, and obtained a decree of the senate in his favour, which not only gave him permission to return into Syria, for the recovery of his dominions, but even granted him assistance for that purpose. Though the senate plainly saw through the imposture, and that all

A. M. 3851. Ant. J. C. 153.

[x] Polyb. Legat. cxxxviii. & cxl. Appian. in Syr. p. 131. Athen. l. v. p. 211. 1 Maccab. x. 1—50.

that was told of this pretender was mere fiction, they entered into every thing that was desired of them against Demetrius, with whom they were dissatisfied, and passed that decree in favour of the impostor. With this declaration of the Romans for him, he found no difficulty in raising troops. He seized upon Ptolemais in Palestine; and there, under the name of Alexander son of Antiochus Epiphanes, assumed the title of king of Syria. Many of the malcontents came thither to join him, and form his court.

This news made Demetrius quit his castle and his indolence, and apply himself to his defence. He assembled all the troops he could. Alexander armed also on his side. The assistance of Jonathan was of great consequence in this conjuncture, and both parties made their court to him. Demetrius wrote to him first, and sent him the commission of general of the king's troops in Judæa, which rendered him at that time very much superior to all his enemies.

Alexander seeing what Demetrius had done for Jonathan, was thereby induced to make proposals also to him, in order to bring him over to his side. He made him high-priest, granted him the title of "Friend of the king," sent him a purple robe and a crown of gold, marks of the high dignity which he conferred upon him; for none at that time wore purple except princes and nobles of the first rank. Demetrius, who received advice of this, still outbid him, to secure to himself an ally of such importance. But after the injuries he had done to all those who had had the true interest of the Jews at heart, and to the whole nation in general, they dared not confide in him, and resolved to treat rather with Alexander. Jonathan therefore accepted the high-priesthood from him; and with the consent of the whole people, at the feast of tabernacles, which happened soon after, he put on the pontifical vestments, and officiated as high-priest.

The place had been vacant seven years from the death of Alcimus. The high-priesthood, which at that time came into the Asmonean family, continued in it till Herod's time, who, from hereditary, as it had been till then, made an employment of it, which he disposed of at his pleasure.

The two kings having taken the field, Demetrius, who wanted neither valour nor good sense, when his reason was not impaired by wine, was victorious in the first battle; but it was of no advantage to him. Alexander soon received new troops from the three kings who had set him up, and continued to support him vigorously. Having, besides this, the Romans and Jonathan on his side, he retrieved his loss, and maintained his ground. The Syrians continually deserted also, because they could not bear Demetrius. That prince, beginning to apprehend the event of the war, sent his two sons, Demetrius and Antiochus, to Cnidos, a city of Caria, in order to provide for their security in case of misfortune. He confided them, with a considerable sum of money, to the care of a friend whom he had in that city; in order that if any accident should happen to himself, they might remain there in safety, and wait some favourable conjuncture. A. M. 3852. Ant. J. C. 152.

It was at the same time, and perhaps in imitation of Alexander Bala, that Andriscus played the same part in Macedonia. He had retired to Demetrius, who had given him up to the Romans, from the hope of conciliating their favour. A. M. 3853. Ant. J. C. 151.

The two competitors for the crown of Syria having assembled all their troops, proceeded to a decisive battle. At first Demetrius's left wing broke that of the enemy which opposed it, and put it to flight. But being too hot in the pursuit, a common fault in battles, and which almost always occasions their being lost, at their return they found the right, at the head of which Demetrius fought in person, routed, and the king himself killed in the pursuit. As long as he had been in a condition to A. M. 3854. Ant. J. C. 150.

support the enemy's charge, he had omitted nothing of which valour and conduct were capable, that might conduce to his success. At length his troops gave way, and in the retreat his horse plunged into a bog, where those who pursued him killed him with their arrows. He had reigned twelve years. Alexander by this victory found himself master of the empire of Syria.

As soon as [y] Alexander saw himself at ease, he sent to demand Cleopatra, the daughter of Ptolemy king of Egypt, in marriage. She was granted him; and her father conducted her in person to Ptolemais, where the nuptials were celebrated. Jonathan was invited to that feast, and went thither, where he was received by the two kings with all possible marks of honour.

Onias, son of Onias III., having [z] been disappointed of the high-priesthood after the death of his uncle Menelaus, had retired into Egypt. He had found means to insinuate himself so well into the favour of Ptolemy Philometor and Cleopatra his wife, that he was become their favourite and most intimate confidant. He made use of his influence at that court to obtain the king's permission for building a temple for the Jews in Egypt, like that in Jerusalem; assuring him that that favour would bring the whole nation over to his side against Antiochus Epiphanes; at the same time he obtained a grant of the high-priesthood to him and his descendants for ever. The great difficulty was, to make the Jews accede to this innovation; it being forbidden by the law to offer sacrifices in any place but the temple of Jerusalem. He overcame their repugnance, though not without difficulty, by a passage in Isaiah, wherein the prophet foretells this event in these terms: [a] "In that "day shall five cities in the land of Egypt speak the "language of Canaan, and swear to the Lord of Hosts;

[y] 1 Maccab. x. 51—66. [z] Joseph. contra Appian. l. ii.
[a] Isa. xix. 18—21.

" the one shall be called the city of the sun, or Helio-
" polis. In that day there shall be an altar to the
" Lord in the midst of the land of Egypt; and a pillar
" at the border thereof to the Lord. And it shall be
" for a sign and for a witness unto the Lord of Hosts
" in the land of Egypt; for they shall cry unto the
" Lord because of the oppressors, and he shall send
" them a saviour and a great one, and he shall deliver
" them. And the Lord shall be known to Egypt, and
" the Egyptians shall know the Lord in that day, and
" shall do sacrifice and oblation; yea, they shall vow
" a vow unto the Lord, and perform it."

The event here foretold by Isaiah, is one of the most singular, and at the same time the most remote from all probability. Nothing was more strictly forbidden to the Jews than to offer sacrifices to GOD in any other place than the temple built by his order at Jerusalem; consequently how much more, to build a temple elsewhere, especially in a land polluted with the most gross idolatry, as Egypt was, and always at enmity with the people of GOD? This, however, came to pass exactly as the prophet Isaiah had foretold. I shall not enter into a circumstantial exposition of this prophecy, which would carry me too far from my subject.

Alexander Bala,[b] finding himself in peaceable possession of the crown of Syria, thought he had nothing more to do than to take all the pleasures which the abundance and power to which he had attained would admit. He abandoned himself, therefore, to his natural inclination for luxury, idleness, and debauchery. He left the care of affairs entirely to a favourite named Ammonius. That insolent and cruel minion put to death Laodice, the sister of Demetrius, and widow of Perseus king of Macedonia; Antigonus, Demetrius's son, who continued in Syria

A. M. 3856. Ant. J. C. 148.

[b] Liv. Epit. lib. l. Justin. l. xxxv. c. 2. Jos. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 8. 1 Maccab. x. 67—89. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 346.

when the two others were sent to Cnidos; in fine, all the persons of the blood-royal whom he could find, in order to secure to his master, by that means, the possession of the crown which he had usurped by an imposture. That conduct soon drew upon both the abhorrence of the people.

Demetrius, the eldest of Demetrius's sons, was at Cnidos, and began to be of an age capable of forming and executing plans. When he was advised of this aversion of the people, he thought the occasion favourable for repossessing himself of his right. Lasthenes, the friend in whose house he lived, procured him some companies of Cretans, with which he landed in Cilicia. There soon joined him a sufficient number of malcontents to form an army, with which he made himself master of the whole province. Alexander opened his eyes, and quitted his seraglio to apply himself to his affairs. He left the government of Antioch to Hierax and Diodotus, who is also called Tryphon, put himself at the head of an army, formed of all the troops he could assemble; and upon receiving advice that Apollonius, governor of Cœle-syria and Phœnicia, had declared for Demetrius, he sent to demand aid of Ptolemy his father-in-law.

Apollonius's first thoughts were to reduce Jonathan, who persisted in his attachment to Alexander: but he was unsuccessful, and in one day he lost above eight thousand men.

A. M. 3858. Ant. J. C. 146. Ptolemy Philometor, to whom Alexander had applied in the extreme danger in which he found himself, came at last to the assistance of his son-in-law, and entered Palestine with a great army. All the cities opened their gates to him, according to the orders they had received from Alexander to that effect. Jonathan came to join him at Joppa, and followed him to Ptolemais. Upon his arrival a conspiracy was discovered, which had been formed by Ammonius, against the life of Philometor. As Alexander refused to deliver up that traitor, he concluded

that he had entered into the conspiracy himself, and in consequence took his daughter from him, gave her to Demetrius, and made a treaty with him, by which he engaged to aid him in reascending the throne of his father.

The people of Antioch, who mortally hated Ammonius, believed it time to show their resentment. Having discovered him disguised like a woman, they sacrificed him to their rage. Not content with that revenge, they declared against Alexander himself, and opened their gates to Ptolemy. They would even have set him upon the throne. But that prince, assuring them that he was contented with his own dominions, instead of accepting that offer, recommended to them Demetrius, the lawful heir, who accordingly was placed upon the throne of his ancestors, and acknowledged by all the inhabitants.

Alexander, who was at that time in Cilicia, marched with the utmost diligence, and put all to fire and sword around Antioch. The two armies came to a battle. Alexander was defeated, and fled with five hundred horse to *Zabdiel, an Arabian prince, with whom he had intrusted his children. Betrayed by the person in whom he had placed most confidence, his head was cut off and sent to Ptolemy, who expressed great joy at the sight of it. That joy was of no long duration; for he died some few days after of a wound he had received in the battle. Thus Alexander king of Syria, and Ptolemy Philometor king of Egypt, died at the same time; the first after a reign of five years, and the second after one of thirty-five. Demetrius, who had attained the crown by this victory, assumed the surname of *Nicator*, that is to say, "the Conqueror."—The succession of Egypt was attended with more difficulties. A. M. 3859. Ant. J. C. 145.

* He is called Emalcuel in the book of Maccabees.

SECT. VI. *Physcon espouses Cleopatra, and ascends the throne of Egypt. Demetrius in Syria abandons himself to all manner of excesses. Diodotus, surnamed Tryphon, causes Antiochus, the son of Alexander Bala, to be proclaimed king of Syria; then kills him, and takes his place. He seizes Jonathan by treachery, and puts him to death. Demetrius undertakes an expedition against the Parthians, who take him prisoner. Cleopatra his wife espouses Antiochus Sidetes, brother of Demetrius, and places him upon the throne of Syria. Physcon's excessive follies and enormities. Attalus Philometor succeeds Attalus his uncle, whom he causes to be regretted, by his vices. He dies himself, after having reigned five years, and by his will leaves the Roman people heirs to his dominions. Aristonicus seizes them. He is overthrown, led in triumph, and put to death.*

A. M. 3859. Ant. J. C. 145... CLEOPATRA queen of Egypt, after the death of her husband, who was at the same time her brother, endeavoured to place [c] the crown upon the head of the son she had by him. As he was yet very young, others laboured to obtain it for Physcon king of Cyrenaica, the late king's brother, and sent to desire him to come to Alexandria. Cleopatra, thereby reduced to the necessity of taking measures for her defence, caused Onias and Dositheus, with an army of Jews, to come to her assistance. There was at that time a Roman ambassador at Alexandria, named Thermus, who by his mediation accommodated affairs. It was agreed that Physcon should marry Cleopatra, and educate her son, who should be declared heir to the crown; and that Phys-

[c] Joseph. contr. App. l. ii. Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 8. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 1.

con should possess it during his life. He had no sooner married the queen and taken possession of the crown, than, on the very day of the nuptials, he killed her son in her arms.

I have already observed, that the surname of *Physcon*, given to this prince, was properly a nickname. That which he took himself was *Euergetes*, which signifies "the benefactor." The Alexandrians changed it into that of *Cacoergetes*, that is to say, on the contrary, "one who delights in doing harm;" a surname to which he had the justest title.

In Syria[d] affairs went on little better. Demetrius, a young prince without experience, left every thing to Lasthenes, who had procured him the Cretans, by whose aid he had ascended the throne. He was a corrupt and rash man, and behaved himself so ill, that he soon lost his master the hearts of those who were most necessary to his support.

The first wrong step which he took, was in regard to the soldiers, whom Ptolemy, upon his march, had put into the maritime places of Phœnicia and Syria, to reinforce the garrisons. If he had left those garrisons in them, they would have very much augmented his forces. Instead of conciliating them, or at least of treating them well, upon some umbrage which he conceived, he sent orders to the troops of Syria who were in the same garrisons, to cut the throats of all the Egyptian soldiers; which massacre was accordingly executed. The army of Egypt, which was still in Syria, and had placed him upon the throne, full of just horror for such barbarous cruelty, abandoned him immediately, and returned home. After which he caused the strictest search to be made for all those who had taken part against himself or his father in the last wars, and punished with death all that could be found. When he believed, after all these executions, that

[d] Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 346. 1 Maccab. xi. 20—37. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 8.

he had no longer any enemies to fear, he broke the greatest part of his troops, and kept only his Cretans, and some other foreigners, in his service. By that means he not only deprived himself of the veteran troops who had served under his father, and who, as being well affected to him, would have maintained him upon the throne, but he rendered them his greatest enemies, by depriving them of the sole means they had to subsist. He found this fully verified in the insurrections and revolutions which afterwards happened.

Jonathan in the mean time seeing every thing quiet in Judæa, formed the design of delivering the nation at length from the evils it suffered from the citadel, which the idolatrous Greeks still held in Jerusalem. He invested it, and caused machines of war to be brought, in order to attack it in form. Demetrius, in consequence of the complaints made to him upon that occasion, went to Ptolemais, and commanded Jonathan to attend him there, to give an account of that affair. Jonathan gave orders for pushing the siege vigorously in his absence, and set out to meet him with some of the priests and principal persons of the nation. He carried with him a great quantity of magnificent presents, and appeased the king and his ministers so successfully, that he not only caused the accusation which had been formed against him to be rejected, but even obtained great honours and new marks of favour. The whole country under his government was discharged from all duties, customs, and tributes, for the sum of * three hundred talents, which he agreed to pay the king by way of equivalent.

The king being returned to Antioch,[a] and continuing to give himself up immoderately to all kind of excesses, violence, and cruelty, the people's pa-

[a] Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 9. 1 Maccab. xi. 39—74. xii. 21—34. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 9. Appian. in Syr. p. 132. Epit. Liv. l. lii. Strab. l. xvi. p. 752. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 340.

* Three hundred thousand crowns.

tience was entirely exhausted, so that the whole nation was disposed for a general revolt.

Diodotus, afterwards surnamed Tryphon, who had formerly served Alexander, and had shared the government of Antioch with Hierax, seeing the people in this disposition, found the occasion favourable for attempting a bold enterprise, which was to set the crown upon his own head, by taking advantage of these disorders. He went into Arabia to Zabdiel, to whom the person and education of Antiochus, the son of Alexander Bala, had been intrusted. He laid the state of the affairs of Syria before him, informed him of the discontent of the people, and of the soldiery in particular, and strongly represented, that there could not be a more favourable opportunity for setting Antiochus upon the throne of his father. He demanded that the young prince should be put into his hands, in order that he might enforce his rights. His view was to make use of the pretensions of Antiochus till he had dethroned Demetrius, and afterwards to rid himself of the young prince, and assume the crown himself, as he did. Zabdiel, whether he penetrated his real design, or did not entirely approve his scheme, did not accede to it at first. Tryphon was obliged to continue a considerable time with him to solicit and press him. At length, by force of importunity or presents, he gained Zabdiel's consent, and obtained what he demanded.

Jonathan carried on the siege of the citadel of Jerusalem with vigour: but seeing that he made no progress, he sent deputies to Demetrius, to desire that he would withdraw the garrison which he could not drive out by force. Demetrius, who found himself involved in great difficulties from the frequent tumults which happened at Antioch, where the people had conceived an invincible aversion for his person and government, granted Jonathan all he demanded, upon condition that he would send troops to chastise the mutineers. Jonathan sent him three thousand men immediately. As soon as the king

A. M. 3860. Ant. J. C. 144.

had them, believing himself sufficiently strong to undertake every thing, he resolved to disarm the inhabitants of Antioch, and gave orders accordingly that they should all deliver up their arms. Upon this they rose, to the number of sixscore thousand men, and invested the palace, with design to kill the king. The Jews immediately flew to disengage him, dispersed the multitude with fire and sword, burnt a great part of the city, and killed or destroyed very near a hundred thousand of the inhabitants. The rest, intimidated by so great a misfortune, demanded a peace, which was granted them; and the tumult ceased. The Jews, after having taken this terrible revenge for the wrongs which the people of Antioch had done to Judæa and Jerusalem, principally during the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes, returned into their country laden with honour and booty.

Demetrius still continuing his cruelties, tyranny, and oppression, put many more persons to death for the last sedition, confiscated the estates of others, and banished a great number. All his subjects conceived such a hatred and animosity against him, that there wanted nothing but an opportunity for displaying it, and making him experience the most dreadful effects of their vengeance.

Notwithstanding the promises he had made to Jonathan, and the great obligations he had to him for the aid which had preserved him, he behaved no better towards him than he did to others. Believing he could do without him for the future, he did not observe the treaty he had made with him. Though the sum of three hundred talents had been paid, he did not desist from demanding all the usual imposts, customs, and tributes, with the same rigour as before, and with menaces to Jonathan of making war upon him if he failed.

Whilst things were in this unsteady condition, Tryphon conducted Antiochus, the son of Alexander, into Syria, and caused his pretensions to the crown to be declared by a manifesto. The soldiers who

had been disbanded by Demetrius, and a great number of other malcontents, came in crowds to join the pretender, and proclaimed him king. They marched under his ensigns against Demetrius, defeated him, and obliged him to retire into Seleucia.—They took all his elephants, made themselves masters of Antioch, placed Antiochus upon the throne of the kings of Syria, and gave him the surname of *Theos*, which signifies "the god."

Jonathan, disgusted at the ingratitude of Demetrius, accepted the invitation made him by the new king, and engaged in his party. Great favours were heaped upon him and Simon his brother.—A commission was sent them, whereby they were empowered to raise troops for Antiochus throughout all Cœle-syria and Palestine. Of these troops they formed two bodies, with which they acted separately, and obtained several victories over the enemy.

Tryphon, [f] seeing all things brought to the desired point for executing the project he had formed of destroying Antiochus, and of possessing himself of the crown of Syria, found no other obstacle to his design than on the part of Jonathan, whose probity he knew too well even to sound him upon entering into his views. He resolved therefore to rid himself, at any price, of so formidable an enemy; and accordingly entered Judæa with an army, in order to take him and put him to death. Jonathan came also to Bethshan at the head of forty thousand men. Tryphon perceived that he should get nothing by force against so powerful an army. He endeavoured therefore to amuse him with fine words, and the warmest assurances of a sincere friendship. He gave him to understand, that he was come thither only to consult him upon their common interests, and to put Ptolemais into his hands, which he was resolved

[f] 1 Maccab. xii. 39—54. xiii. 1—30. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 10, 11. Justin. l. xxxvi. c. 1. Epit. Liv. l. lv.

to make him a present of as a free gift. He deceived him so well by these protestations of friendship and obliging offers, that he dismissed all his troops, except three thousand men, of which he kept only one thousand about his person. He sent the rest towards Galilee, and followed Tryphon to Ptolemais, relying upon the traitor's oath, that he should be put into possession of it. He had no sooner entered the place, than the gates were shut upon him. Jonathan was immediately seized, and all his followers put to the sword. Troops were also detached directly to follow and surprise the two thousand men who were upon their march to Galilee. They had already received advice of what had happened to Jonathan and his troops at the city of Ptolemais; and having exhorted one another to defend themselves well, and to sell their lives as dear as possible, the enemy were afraid to attack them. They were suffered to proceed, and arrived all safe at Jerusalem.

The affliction there for what had befallen Jonathan was extreme. The Jews, however, did not lose courage. They chose Simon by universal consent for their general, and immediately, by his orders, set themselves at work with all possible speed to complete the fortifications begun by Jonathan at Jerusalem. And when advice came that Tryphon approached, Simon marched against him at the head of a fine army.

Tryphon did not dare to give him battle, but had again recourse to the same artifices which had succeeded so well with Jonathan. He sent to tell Simon, that he had only laid Jonathan under an arrest, because he owed the king a hundred talents;* that if he would send him that sum, and Jonathan's two sons as hostages for their father's fidelity, he would cause him to be set at liberty. Though Simon saw clearly that this proposal was no

* A hundred thousand crowns.

more than a feint, nevertheless, that he might not have reason to reproach himself with being the occasion of his brother's death, by refusing to comply with it, he sent him the money and Jonathan's two children. The traitor, notwithstanding, did not release his prisoner, but returned a second time into Judæa, at the head of a greater army than before, with design to put all things to fire and sword. Simon kept so close to him in all his marches and countermarches, that he frustrated his designs, and obliged him to retire.

Tryphon, on his return into winter-quarters in the country of Galaad, caused Jonathan to be put to death; and believing after this that he had nobody to fear, gave orders to kill Antiochus secretly. He then caused it to be given out that he was dead of the stone, and at the same time declared himself king of Syria in his stead, and took possession of the crown. When Simon was informed of his brother's death, he sent to fetch his bones, interred them in the sepulchre of his forefathers at Modin, and erected a magnificent monument to his memory.

[g] Tryphon passionately desired to be acknowledged by the Romans. His usurpation was so unsteady without this, that he perceived plainly this was absolutely necessary to his support. He sent them a magnificent embassy, with a golden statue of Victory of ten thousand pieces of gold in weight. He was cheated by the Romans. They accepted the statue, and caused the name of Antiochus, whom he had assassinated, to be inserted in the inscription, as if it had come from him. A. M. 3861, Ant. J. C. 143.

The ambassadors sent by Simon to Rome[h] were received there much more honourably, and all the treaties made with his predecessors were renewed with him.

Demetrius in the mean time amused himself with diversions at Laodicea,[i] and abandoned himself to

[g] Diod. Legat. xxxi. [h] 1 Maccab. xiv. 16—40.
[i] Diod. in Exerpt. Vales. p. 353. 1 Maccab. xiii. 34—42. and xiv. 38—41. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 11.

the most infamous debauches, without becoming more wise from adversity, and without so much as seeming to have the least sense of his misfortunes. As Tryphon had given the Jews just reason to oppose him and his party, Simon sent a crown of gold to Demetrius, and ambassadors to treat with him. They obtained from that prince a confirmation of the high-priesthood and sovereignty to Simon, exemption from all kind of tributes and imposts, with a general amnesty for all past acts of hostility; upon condition that the Jews should join him against Tryphon.

A. M. 3863. Ant. J. C. 141. Demetrius at length [k] recovered a little from his lethargy upon the arrival of deputies from the East, who came to invite him thither. The Parthians, having over-run almost the whole East, and subjected all the countries of Asia between the Indus and Euphrates, the inhabitants of those countries, who were descended from the Macedonians, not being able to endure that usurpation, and the haughty insolence of their new masters, were extremely urgent with Demetrius, by repeated embassies, to come and put himself at their head; assured him of a general insurrection against the Parthians; and promised to supply him with a sufficient number of troops to expel those usurpers, and recover all the provinces of the East. Full of these hopes, he at length undertook that expedition, and passed the Euphrates, leaving Tryphon in possession of the greatest part of Syria. He conceived that, having once made himself master of the East, with that increase of power he should be in a better condition to reduce that rebel at his return.

As soon as he appeared in the East, the Elymæans, Persians, and Bactrians, declared in his favour; and with their aid he defeated the Parthians in several

[k] Justin. l. xxxvi. c. 1. l. xxxviii. c. 9. l. xli. c. 5 and 6. 1 Maccab. xiv. 1—49. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 9—12. Orosius, l. v. c. 4. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 359. Appian. in Syr. p. 132.

engagements: but at length, under pretence of treating with him, they got him into an ambuscade, where he was made prisoner, and his whole army cut in pieces. By this blow the empire of the Parthians took such firm footing, that it supported itself for many ages afterwards, and became the terror of all its neighbours, so as to be considered equal even to the Romans themselves, as to power in the field and reputation for military exploits.

The king who then reigned over the Parthians was Mithridates, son of Priapatius, a valiant and wise prince. We have seen in what manner Arsaces founded this empire, and his son Arsaces II. established and confirmed it, by a treaty of peace with Antiochus the Great. Priapatius was the son of the second Arsaces, and succeeded him; he was called also Arsaces, which became the common name of all the princes of this race. After having reigned fifteen years, he left the crown at his death to his eldest son Phraates, and he to Mithridates his brother, in preference * to his own children, because he had discovered more merit and capacity in him for the government of the people; convinced that a king, when it is in his own power, ought to be more attentive to the good of the state than the advancement of his own family; and to forget, in some measure, that he is a father, to remember solely that he is a king. This Mithridates was that king of the Parthians, into whose hands Demetrius had fallen.

That prince, after having subdued the Medes, Elymæans, Persians, and Bactrians, extended his conquests even into India, beyond the bounds of Alexander's; and when he had defeated Demetrius, subjected also Babylonia and Mesopotamia; so that his empire was bounded at that time by the Euphrates on the west, and the Ganges on the east.

* *Non multò pòst decessit, multis filiis relictis; quibus præteritis, fratri potissimùm Mithridati, insignis virtutis viro, reliquit imperium: plus regio quàm patrio deberi nomini ratus, potiúsque patriæ quàm liberis consulendum.* Justin.

He carried Demetrius his prisoner into all the provinces that still adhered to the king of Syria, with the view of inducing them to submit to him, by showing them the person they had looked upon as their deliverer, reduced to so low and shameful a condition. After that, he treated him as a king, sent him into Hyrcania, which was assigned him for his place of residence, and gave him his daughter Rhodoguna in marriage. However, he was always regarded as a prisoner of war, though in other respects he had all the liberty that could be granted him in that condition. His son Phraates, who succeeded him, treated him in the same manner.

It is observed particularly of this Mithridates, that having subjected several different nations, he took from each of them whatever was best in their laws and customs, and out of them composed an excellent body of laws and maxims of state, for the government of his empire. This was making a glorious use of his victories; by so much the more laudable, as it is uncommon and almost unheard-of, for a victor to be more intent upon gaining improvement from the wise customs of conquered nations, than upon enriching himself out of their spoils. It was by this means that Mithridates established the empire of the Parthians upon solid foundations, gave it a firm consistency, effectually attached the conquered provinces to it, and united them into one monarchy, which subsisted many ages without change or revolution, notwithstanding the diversity of nations of which it was composed. He may be looked upon as the Numa of the Parthians, who taught that warlike nation to temper a savage valour with discipline, and to blend the wise authority of laws with the blind force of arms.

At this time happened a considerable change in the affairs of the Jewish nation. They had contended long with incredible efforts against the kings of Syria, not only for the defence of their liberty, but the preservation of their religion. They thought it

incumbent on them to take advantage of the favourable opportunity of the king of Syria's captivity, and of the civil wars with which that empire was continually torn, to secure both the one and the other. In a general assembly of the priests, the elders, and the whole people of Jerusalem, Simon was chosen general, to whose family they had most essential obligations, and they gave him the government with the title of sovereign, as well as that of high-priest; and declared this double power, civil and sacerdotal, hereditary in his family. These two titles had been conferred on him by Demetrius, but limited to his person. After his death, both dignities descended jointly to his posterity, and continued united for many generations.

When queen Cleopatra saw her husband taken and kept prisoner by the Parthians, she shut herself up with her children in Seleucia, where many of Tryphon's soldiers came over to her party. That man, who was naturally brutal and cruel, had industriously concealed those defects under appearances of lenity and goodness, as long as he believed it necessary to please the people, in order to be successful in his ambitious designs. When he saw himself in possession of the crown, he quitted an assumed character that laid him under too much constraint, and gave himself up entirely to his bad inclinations. Many therefore abandoned him, and came over in no inconsiderable numbers to Cleopatra. These desertions did not, however, sufficiently augment her party to put her into a condition to support herself. She was also afraid, lest the people of Seleucia should choose rather to give her up to Tryphon, than support a siege out of affection for her person. She therefore sent proposals to Antiochus Sidetes, Demetrius's brother, for uniting their forces; and promised on that condition to marry him, and procure him the crown. For when she was informed that Demetrius had married Rhodoguna, she was so much enraged, that she no longer observed any measures, and re-

A. M. 3864. Ant. J. C. 140.

solved to seek support in a new marriage. Her children were yet too young to support the weight of a tottering crown, and she was not of a character to pay much regard to their rights. As Antiochus, therefore, was the next heir to the crown after them, she fixed upon him, and took him for her husband.

This Antiochus was the second son of Demetrius Soter, and had been sent to Cnidus with his brother Demetrius, during the war between their father and Alexander Bala, to secure them against the revolutions he apprehended, and which actually happened, as has been said before. Having accepted Cleopatra's offers, he assumed the title of king of Syria.

He wrote a letter to Simon, [1] wherein he complained of Tryphon's unjust usurpation, for which he promised to take speedy vengeance. To engage him in his interests, he made him great concessions, and gave him hopes of much greater when he should ascend the throne.

A. M. 3865. Ant. J. C. 139. And in fact, in the beginning of the following year, he made a descent into Syria with an army of foreign troops, which he had taken into his pay in Greece, Asia Minor, and the islands; and after having espoused Cleopatra, and joined what troops she had with his own, he took the field, and marched against Tryphon. The greatest part of that usurper's troops, weary of his tyranny, abandoned him, and came over to the army of Antiochus, which amounted at that time to a hundred-and-twenty thousand foot and eight thousand horse.

Tryphon could not make head against him, and retired to Dora, a city in the neighbourhood of Ptolemais in Phœnicia. Antiochus besieged him there by sea and land with all his forces. The place could not hold out long against so powerful an army. Tryphon escaped by sea to Orthosia, another maritime city of Phœnicia, and from thence proceeding

[1] 1 Maccab. xv. 1—41. xvi. 1—10. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 12 & 13.

to Apamea, where he was born, he was there taken and put to death. Antiochus thus terminated the usurpation, and ascended his father's throne, which he possessed nine years. His passion for hunting occasioned his being called *Sidetes*, or "the hunter," from the word "Zidah," which has the same signification in the Syriac language.

Simon, established in the government of Judæa by the general consent of the nation, thought it necessary to send ambassadors to Rome, in order to his being acknowledged under that title, and to renew the ancient treaties. They were very well received, and obtained all they desired. The senate, in consequence, caused the consul Piso to write to Ptolemy king of Egypt, Attalus king of Pergamus, Ariarathes king of Cappadocia, *Demetrius king of Syria, Mithridates king of the Parthians, and to all the states of Greece, Asia Minor, and the islands, with whom the Romans were in alliance, to notify to them, that the Jews were their friends and allies, and that consequently they should not undertake any thing to their prejudice.

As Antiochus had granted Simon so advantageous an alliance solely from the necessity of his present circumstances, and contrary to the interests of the state, as well as to the policy of his predecessors, the letter from the Romans did not prevent him from declaring against Simon, notwithstanding all the magnificent promises he had made him, and from sending troops into Judæa, under the command of Cendebæus, who was overthrown in a battle by Judas and John, the sons of Simon.

Physcon had reigned seven years in Egypt.[m] History relates nothing of him, during all that time, but monstrous vices and detestable cruelties. Never was A. M. 3866. Ant. J. C. 138.

[m] Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 8. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 361. Athen. l. iv. p. 184. & l. vi. p. 252. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 1, 2.

* This letter was addressed to Demetrius, though prisoner amongst the Parthians, because the Romans had neither acknowledged Antiochus Sidetes nor Tryphon.

there a prince so abandoned to excesses, and at the same time so cruel and sanguinary. All the rest of his conduct was as contemptible as his vices were enormous; for he both said and acted in public the extravagances of an infant, by which he drew upon himself both the contempt and abhorrence of his subjects. Without Hierax, his first minister, he had infallibly been dethroned. This Hierax was a native of Antioch, and was the same to whom, in the reign of Alexander Bala, the government of that city had been given in conjunction with Diodotus, afterwards surnamed Tryphon. After the revolution which happened in Syria, he retired into Egypt, entered into the service of Ptolemy Physcon, and soon became his captain-general and prime minister. As he was valiant in the field and able in council, by causing the troops to be well paid, and amending the faults which his master committed, by a wise and equitable government, and by preventing or redressing them as much as possible, he had been till then so fortunate as to support the tranquillity of the state.

A. M. 3868. Ant. J. C. 136. But in the following years, whether Hierax was dead, or the prudence and ability of that minister were no longer capable of restraining the folly of this prince, the affairs of Egypt went on worse than ever. Physcon, without any reason, caused the greatest part of those to be put to death, who had expressed the most zeal in procuring him the crown after his brother's death, and maintaining it upon his head. Athenæus places Hierax in this number; but without mentioning the time. He also put to death, or at least banished, most of those who had been in favour with Philometor his brother, or had only held employments during his reign; and by permitting his foreign troops to plunder and murder at discretion, he terrified Alexandria so much, that the greatest part of the inhabitants, to avoid his cruelty, thought it necessary to retire into foreign countries, and the city remained almost a desert. To supply

their places, when he perceived that nothing remained but empty houses, he caused proclamation to be made in all the neighbouring countries, that whosoever would come and settle there, of whatsoever nation they were, should meet with the greatest encouragement and advantages. There were considerable numbers whom this proposal suited very well: the houses that had been abandoned were given to them, and all the rights, privileges, and immunities granted them, which had been enjoyed by the ancient inhabitants; by this means the city was repeopled.

As amongst those who had quitted Alexandria, there was a great number of grammarians, philosophers, geometricians, physicians, musicians, and other masters in the liberal sciences, it happened from thence, that the polite arts and sciences began to revive in Greece, Asia Minor, and the islands; in a word, in every place whither these illustrious fugitives carried them. The continual wars between the successors of Alexander, had almost extinguished the sciences in all those countries; and they would have been entirely lost in those times of confusion, if they had not found protection under the Ptolemies at Alexandria. The first of those princes, by founding his Musæum for the entertainment of the learned, and erecting his fine library, had drawn about him almost all the learned men of Greece. The second and third following the founder's steps in that respect, Alexandria became the principal city in the world where the liberal arts and sciences were most cultivated, whilst they were almost absolutely neglected every where else. Most of the inhabitants of that great city studied or professed some or other of those polite arts, in which they had been instructed in their youth. So that when the cruelty and oppression of the tyrant, of whom I speak, obliged them to take refuge in foreign countries, their most general recourse for subsistence was to make it their business to teach what they knew.

They opened schools for that purpose; and as they were pressed by necessity, they taught at a low price, which very much increased the number of their disciples. By this means the arts and sciences began to revive, wherever they were dispersed; that is to say, throughout what we call the whole East, exactly in the same manner as they took new birth in the West, after the capture of Constantinople by the Turks.

Much about the time that strangers came in crowds to [a] repeople Alexandria, P. Scipio Africanus the Younger, Sp. Mummius, and L. Metellus, arrived there as ambassadors from Rome. It was a maxim with the Romans to send frequent embassies to their allies, in order to take cognizance of their affairs, and to accommodate their differences. It was with this view, that three of the greatest persons in the state were sent at this time into Egypt. They had orders to go into Egypt, Syria, Asia, and Greece; and to see in what condition the affairs of those countries were; to examine in what manner the treaties made with them were observed; and to remedy whatever they should find amiss. They acquitted themselves of this commission with so much equity, justice, and address; and rendered such great services to those to whom they were sent, in restoring order amongst them, and in accommodating their differences; that, as soon as they returned to Rome, ambassadors came from all parts through which they had passed, to return the senate thanks for having sent amongst them persons of such extraordinary merit, and whose wisdom and goodness they could never sufficiently admire.

The first place they went to, according to their instructions, was Alexandria. The king received them there with great magnificence. As to themselves, they affected state so little, that at their entry,

[a] Cic. in Somn. Scip. Athen. l. vi. p. 273, & l. xii. p. 549. Val. Max. l. iv. c. 3. Diod. Legat. xxxii.

Scipio, who was the greatest personage of Rome, had only one friend with him, which was Panætius the philosopher, and five domestics.* Not his domestics, (says an historian,) but his victories, were considered: he was not esteemed for his gold or his silver, but for his personal virtues and qualities. Though during their whole residence at Alexandria, the king caused them to be served with whatever was most delicate and exquisite, they never touched any thing but the most simple and common meats; despising all the rest, as serving only to enervate the mind as well as the body. So great, even at that time, were the moderation and temperance of the Romans; but luxury and pomp quickly assumed their place.

When the ambassadors had fully viewed Alexandria, and regulated the affairs which brought them thither, they went up the Nile to visit Memphis and the other parts of Egypt. They saw with their own eyes, or by statements drawn up upon the spot, the infinite number of cities, and the prodigious multitude of inhabitants, contained in that kingdom; the strength of its natural situation; the fertility of its soil, and all the other advantages it enjoyed. They found that it wanted nothing to render it powerful and formidable, but a prince of capacity and application; for Physcon, who then reigned, was nothing less than a king. Nothing was so wretched as the idea he gave them of himself in all the audiences they had of him. Of his cruelty, luxury, barbarity, and other vices, I have already made mention, and shall be obliged to give further proofs of them in the sequel. The deformity of his † body sufficiently corresponded with that of his

* *Cùm per socios et exteras gentes iter faceret, non mancipia sed victoriæ numerabantur; nec quantum auri et argenti, sed quantum amplitudinis onus secum ferret, æstimabatur.* Val. Max.

† *Quàm cruentus civibus, tam ridiculus Romanis fuit. Erat enim et vultu deformis, et staturâ brevis, et saginâ ventris non homini sed belluæ similis. Quam fœditatem nimia subtilitas perlucidæ vestis*

mind: nothing more hideous was ever seen. His stature was of the smallest, and with that he had a belly of so enormous a size, that there was no man could embrace him in his arms. This largeness of his belly occasioned his being called by the nick-name of "Physcon." Upon this wretched person he wore so transparent a stuff that all his deformity might be seen through it. He never appeared in public but in a chariot, not being able to carry the load of flesh, which was the fruit of his intemperance, unless when he walked with Scipio. So that the latter, turning towards Panætius, told him in his ear, smiling, "The "Alexandrians are obliged to us for seeing their king "walk on foot."

We must confess, to the reproach of royalty, that most of the kings of whom we now speak, dishonoured not only the throne, but even human nature itself, by the most horrid vices. It is dreadful to see, in that long list of kings whose history we have related, how few there are who deserve that name. What comparison is there between those monsters of dissoluteness and cruelty, and Scipio Africanus, one of the three Roman ambassadors, who was a prodigy of wisdom and virtue, as far as they could be found amongst the Pagans. Justin accordingly says of him, that whilst he visited and considered with curiosity the rarities of Alexandria, he was himself a sight to the whole city. *Dum inspicit urbem, ipse spectaculo Alexandrinis fuit.*

A. M. 3866. Ant. J. C. 138. Attalus, king of Pergamus, died[o] about the time of which we now speak. His nephew, who bore the same name, and was also called Philometor, succeeded him. As the latter was very young when his father Eu-

augebat, prorsus quasi astu inspicienda præberentur, quæ omni studio occultanda pudibundo viro erant. Justin. l. viii. c. 8.

Athenæus says, προήει μηδέποτε πεζὸς, ἐν μὴ διὰ Σκιπίωνα. Which the interpreter translates, *Pedibus ille nunquam ex regiâ prodibat, sed perpetuo Scipione subnixus;* instead of *nisi propter Scipionem.*

[o] Justin. l. xxxvi. c. 4. Strab. l. xiii. p. 624. Plut. in Demet. p. 897. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 370.

menes died, he had been under the tuition of his uncle, to whom the crown was also left by the will of Eumenes. Attalus gave his nephew the best education he could, and at his death bequeathed the throne to him, though he had sons of his own; a proceeding as rare as it was laudable; most princes thinking no less of transferring their crowns to their posterity, than of preserving them to themselves during their lives.

This prince's death was a misfortune to the kingdom of Pergamus. Philometor governed it in the most extravagant and pernicious manner. He was scarce upon the throne before he stained it with the blood of his nearest relations, and the best friends of his family. He caused almost all who had served his father and uncle with extreme fidelity, to be murdered, under pretence that some of them had killed his mother Stratonice, who died of disease in a very advanced age, and others his wife Berenice, who died of an incurable distemper, with which she had been seized very naturally. He put others also to death upon suspicions entirely frivolous; and with them, their wives, children, and whole families. He caused these executions to be committed by foreign troops, whom he had expressly sent for from the most savage and cruel nations, to make them the instruments of his enormous barbarity.

After having massacred and sacrificed to his fury, in this manner, the most deserving persons of his kingdom, he ceased to show himself abroad. He appeared no more in the city, and ate no longer in public. He put on old clothes, let his beard grow without taking any care of it, and did every thing which persons accused of capital offences used to do in those days, as if he intended thereby to acknowledge the crimes which he had just perpetrated.

From hence he proceeded to other species of folly. He renounced the cares of state, and retired into his garden, and engaged in digging the ground himself,

and then sowed all sorts of venomous, as well as wholesome herbs; then poisoning the good with the juice of the bad, he sent them in that manner as presents to his friends. He passed all the rest of his reign in cruel extravagances of the like nature, which, happily for his subjects, was of no long duration, for it lasted only five years.

He had taken it into his head to practise the trade of a founder, and formed the model of a monument of brass to be erected to his mother. Whilst he was at work in casting the metal, on a hot summer's day, he was seized with a fever, which carried him off in seven days, and freed his subjects from an abominable tyrant.

A. M. 3871. Ant. J.C. 133.

He had made a will, by which he appointed the Roman people his heirs. Eudemus of Pergamus carried this will to Rome. The principal article was expressed in these terms, [p] LET THE ROMAN PEOPLE INHERIT ALL MY EFFECTS. As soon as it was read, Tiberius Gracchus, tribune of the people, always attentive to conciliate their favour, took hold of the occasion; and ascending the tribunal, proposed a law to this effect: That all the ready money which should arise from the succession to this prince, should be distributed amongst the poor citizens, who should be sent as colonies into the country bequeathed to the Roman people, in order that they might have wherewithal to support themselves in their new possessions, and to supply them with the tools and other things necessary in agriculture. He added, that as to the cities and lands, which were under that prince's government, the senate had no right to pass any decree in regard to them, and that he should leave the disposal of them to the people; which extremely offended the senate. That tribune was killed some small time after.

[p] Plut. in Gracch. Flor. l. ii. c. 20. Justin. l. xxxvi. c. 4, & xxxvii. c. 1. Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 4. Strab. l. xiv. p. 646. Oros. l. v. c. 8.—10. Eutrop. l. iv. Val. Max. l. iii. c. 2.

Aristonicus, however, who reported himself of the blood royal, was actively employed in preparing to take possession of Attalus's dominions. He was indeed the son of Eumenes, but by a courtezan. He easily engaged the majority of the cities in his party, because they had been long accustomed to the government of kings. Some cities, through fear of the Romans, refused at first to acknowledge him, but were compelled to it by force. A. M. 3872. Ant. J. C. 132.

As his party grew stronger every day, the Romans sent the consul Licinius Crassus against him. It was observed of this general, that he was so perfectly master of all the dialects of the Greek tongue, which in a manner formed five different languages, that he pronounced his decrees according to the particular idiom of those who pleaded before him, which made him very agreeable to all the states of Asia Minor. All the neighbouring princes in alliance with the Roman people, the kings of Bithynia, Pontus, Cappadocia, and Paphlagonia, joined him with their troops. A. M. 3873. Ant. J. C. 131.

Notwithstanding such powerful supports, having engaged in a battle with disadvantage, his army, which he commanded then in quality of proconsul, was defeated, and himself made prisoner. He avoided the shame of being put into the victor's hands, by a voluntary death. His head was carried to Aristonicus, who caused his body to be interred at Smyrna. A. M. 3874. Ant. J. C. 130.

The consul Perpenna, who had succeeded Crassus, soon revenged his death. Having made all haste into Asia, he gave Aristonicus battle, entirely routed his army, besieged him soon after in Stratonice, and at length made him prisoner. All Phrygia submitted to the Romans.

He sent Aristonicus to Rome, in the fleet which he loaded with Attalus's treasures. Manius Aquilius, who had lately been elected consul, was hastening to take his place, in order to put an end to this war, and deprive him of the honour of a triumph. He found Aristonicus set out; and some time after, Per- A. M. 3875. Ant. J. C 129.

penna, who had begun his journey, died of a disease at Pergamus, Aquilius soon terminated this war, which had continued almost four years. Lydia, Caria, the Hellespont, Phrygia, in a word, all that composed the kingdom of Attalus, was reduced into a province of the Roman empire, under the common name of Asia.

The senate had decreed, that the city of Phocæa, which had declared against the Romans, as well in this last war as in that against Antiochus, should be destroyed. The inhabitants of Marseilles, which was a colony of Phocæa, moved as much with the danger of their founders as if the fate of their own city had been in question, sent deputies to Rome, to implore the clemency of the senate and people in their favour. Just as their indignation was against Phocæa, they could not refuse to pardon it, in consideration of the ardent solicitations of a people, whom they had always held in the highest consideration, and who rendered themselves still more worthy of it, by the tender concern and gratitude they expressed for their forefathers and founders.

Phrygia Major was granted to Mithridates Euergetes, king of Pontus, in reward for the aid he had given the Romans in that war. But after his death, they dispossessed his son, Mithridates the Great, of it, and declared it free.

Ariarathes, king of Cappadocia, who died during this war, had left six children. Rome, to reward in the sons the services of the father, added Lycaonia and Cilicia to their dominions. They found in queen Laodice not the tenderness of a parent, but the cruelty of a step-mother. To secure all authority to herself, she poisoned five of her children; and the sixth would have shared the same fate, if his relations had not taken him out of the murderous hands of that Megæra, on whose crimes the people soon took vengeance by a violent death.

A. M. 3878. Ant. J. C. 126. Manius Aquilius, at his return to Rome, received the honour of a triumph. Aristonicus, after having

been shown there for a sight to the people, was carried to prison, where he was strangled. Such were the consequences of king Attalus's will.

Mithridates, in a letter which he wrote afterwards to Arsaces, king of Parthia, accuses the Romans of having * forged a false will of Attalus's, in order to deprive Aristonicus, the son of Eumenes, of his father's kingdom, which appertained to him of right: but it is an avowed enemy who charges them with this. It is more surprising that Horace, in one of his odes, seems to make the Roman people the same reproach, and to insinuate that they had attained the succession by fraud:

[q] Neque Attali
Ignotus hæres regiam occupavi.

Nor have I seiz'd, an heir unknown,
The Phrygian's kingdom for my own.

However, there remains no trace in history of any secret intrigue or solicitation to that effect on the side of the Romans.

I thought it proper to relate all the consequences of this will without interruption. I shall now resume the thread of my history.

[q] Hor. Od. xviii. l. ii. l. 5.

* *Simulato impio testamento, filium ejus (Eumenis) Aristonicum, quia patrium regnum petiverat, hostium more per triumphum duxere.* Apud. Sallust. in Fragm.

SECT. V. *Antiochus Sidetes besieges John Hyrcanus in Jerusalem. That city surrenders by capitulation. He makes war against the Parthians, and perishes in it. Phraates, king of the Parthians, defeated in his turn by the Scythians. Physcon commits horrid cruelties in Egypt. A general revolt obliges him to quit it. Cleopatra, his first wife, is replaced upon the throne. She implores aid of Demetrius, and is soon reduced to leave Egypt. Physcon returns thither, and re-ascends the throne. By his means Zebina dethrones Demetrius, who is soon after killed. The kingdom is divided between Cleopatra, the wife of Demetrius, and Zebina. The latter is defeated and killed. Antiochus Grypus ascends the throne of Syria. The famous Mithridates begins to reign in Pontus. Physcon's death.*

A. M. 3869. Ant. J. C. 135.

SIMON having been slain [a] by treachery, with two of his sons, John, another of them, surnamed Hyrcanus, was proclaimed high-priest and prince of the Jews in his father's stead. Here ends the history of the Maccabees.

Antiochus Sidetes, king of Syria, made all possible haste to take the advantage which the death of Simon gave him, and advanced at the head of a powerful army to reduce Judæa, and unite it to the empire of Syria. Hyrcanus was obliged to shut himself up in Jerusalem, where he sustained a long siege with incredible valour. Reduced at length to the last extremity for want of provisions, he caused proposals of peace to be made to the king. His condition was not unknown in the camp. Those who were about the king's person pressed him to take advantage of the present occasion for exter-

[a] 1 Maccab. xvi. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 16. Diod. Eclog. i. p. 901.

minating the Jewish nation. They represented to him (recurring to past ages), that they had been driven out of Egypt as impious wretches, hated by the gods, and abhorred by men; that they were enemies to all the rest of mankind, as they had no communication with any but those of their own sect, and would neither eat, drink, nor have any familiarity with other people; that they did not adore the same gods; that they had laws, customs, and a religion entirely different from that of all other nations; that therefore they well deserved to be treated by other nations with equal contempt, and to be rendered hatred for hatred; and that all people ought to unite in extirpating them. Diodorus Siculus, as well as Josephus, says, that it was from the pure effect of the generosity and clemency of Antiochus, that the Jewish nation was not entirely destroyed on this occasion.

He was well pleased to enter into a treaty with Hyrcanus. It was agreed that the besieged should surrender their arms; that the fortifications of Jerusalem should be demolished; and that a tribute should be paid to the king for Joppa, and for the other cities which the Jews had out of Judæa: and peace was concluded upon these conditions. Antiochus also demanded that the citadel of Jerusalem should be rebuilt, and would have put a garrison into it; but Hyrcanus would not consent to that, upon account of the miseries which the nation had suffered from the garrison of the former citadel, and chose rather to pay the king the sum of [b] five hundred talents, which he demanded as an equivalent. The capitulation was executed, and for those articles which could not be immediately fulfilled, hostages were given, amongst whom was a brother of Hyrcanus.

Scipio Africanus the younger, having gone [c] to command in Spain, during the war with Numantia, Antiochus Sidetes sent him rich and magnificent A. M. 3870. Ant. J. C. 134.

[b] Five hundred thousand crowns.

[c] Epit. Liv. l. lvii.

presents. Some generals would have appropriated them to their own use. Scipio received them in public, sitting upon his tribunal in the view of the whole army, and gave orders that they should be delivered to the quæstor,* to be applied in rewarding the officers and soldiers who should distinguish themselves in the service. By such conduct a generous and noble soul is known.

A. M. 3873. Ant. J. C. 131. Demetrius Nicator [d] had been kept many years in captivity by the Parthians in Hyrcania, where he wanted nothing except liberty, without which all else is misery. He had made several attempts to obtain it, and to return into his own kingdom, but always without success. He was twice retaken in the midst of his flight, and punished only with being carried back to the place of his confinement, where he was guarded with more care, but always treated with the same magnificence. This was not the effect of mere goodness and clemency in the Parthians; interest had some share in it. They had views of making themselves masters of the kingdom of Syria, however remote they were, and waited a favourable opportunity, when, under colour of going to re-establish Demetrius upon his throne, they might take possession of it for themselves.

Antiochus Sidetes, whether apprised of this design or not, thought proper to prevent it, and marched against Phraates at the head of a formidable army. The Parthians' late usurpation of the richest and finest provinces of the East, which his ancestors had always possessed from the time of Alexander, was a strong inducement to him for uniting all his forces for their expulsion. His army consisted of upwards of fourscore thousand men, well armed and disciplined. But the train of luxury had added to it

[d] Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 9; & 10. l: xxxix. c. 1. Oros. l. v. c. 1. Valer. Max. l. ix. c. 1. Athen. l. v. p. 210. & l. x. p. 439. & l. xii. p. 540. Joseph. Antiq; xiii. c. 16. Appian. in Syr. p. 132.

* The quæstor was the treasurer of the army.

so great a multitude of sutlers, cooks, pastry-cooks, confectioners, actors, musicians, and infamous women, that they were almost four times as many as the soldiers, for they were reckoned to amount to about three hundred thousand. There may be some exaggeration in this account, but, if two-thirds were deducted, there would still remain a numerous train of useless mouths. The luxury of the camp was in proportion to the number of those that administered to it. * Gold and silver glittered in all parts, even upon the boots of the private soldiers. The instruments and utensils of the kitchen were silver, as if they had been marching to a feast, and not to a war.

Antiochus had great success at first. He beat Phraates in three battles, and retook Babylonia and Media. All the provinces of the East, which had formerly appertained to the Syrian empire, threw off the Parthian yoke, and submitted to him, except Parthia itself, where Phraates found himself reduced within the narrow bounds of his ancient kingdom. Hyrcanus, prince of the Jews, accompanied Antiochus in this expedition, and having had his share in all these victories, returned home laden with glory, at the end of the campaign and the year.

The rest of the army passed the winter in the East. The prodigious number of the troops, including the train before mentioned, obliged them to separate, and to remove so far from each other that they could not easily rejoin and form one body in case of an attack. The inhabitants, whom they plundered extremely in their quarters, to be revenged upon them, and to get rid of troublesome guests whom nothing could satisfy, conspired with the Parthians to massacre them all in one day in their

A. M. 3874. Ant. J. C. 130.

* *Argenti aurique tantum, ut etiam gregarii milites caligas auro figerent, proculcarentque materiam, cujus amore populi ferro dimicant. Culinarum quoque argentea instrumenta fuere, quasi ad epulas non ad bella pergerent.* Justin.

quarters, without giving them time to assemble; which was accordingly executed. Antiochus, who had kept a body of troops always about his person, marched to assist the quarters nearest him, but was overpowered by numbers, and perished himself. All the rest of the army were either massacred in their quarters the same day, or made prisoners; so that out of so great a multitude, scarce any escaped to carry the sad news of this slaughter into Syria.

It occasioned great grief and consternation there. The death of Antiochus, a prince estimable for many excellent qualities, was particularly lamented. Plutarch[a] relates a saying of his very much to his honour. One day, having lost himself a-hunting, and being alone, he retired into the cottage of some poor people, who received him in the best manner they could, without knowing him. At supper, having himself turned the conversation upon the person and conduct of the king, they said, that he was in every thing else a good prince, but that his too great passion for hunting made him neglect the affairs of his kingdom, and repose too much confidence in his courtiers, whose actions did not always correspond with the goodness of his intentions. Antiochus made no answer at that time. The next day, upon the arrival of his train at the cottage, he was known. He repeated to his officers what had passed the evening before, and told them by way of reproach, "Since I have taken you into my service, "I have not heard the truth concerning myself till "yesterday."

Phraates, thrice beaten by Antiochus, had at last released Demetrius, and sent him back into Syria with a body of troops, in hopes that his return would occasion such troubles as would compel Antiochus to follow him. But after the massacre, he detached a party of horse to retake him. Demetrius, who apprehended a countermand of that nature, had

[a] Plut. in Apophthegm. p. 284.

marched with so much diligence, that he had already passed the Euphrates before that party arrived upon the frontier. In this manner he recovered his dominions, and made great rejoicings upon that occasion; whilst all the rest of Syria were in tears, deploring the loss of the army, in which few families had not some near relation.

Phraates caused the body of Antiochus to be sought for amongst the dead, and put into a coffin of silver. He sent it into Syria to be honourably interred with his ancestors; and having found one of his daughters amongst the captives, he was struck with her beauty, and married her.

Antiochus being dead,[f] Hyrcanus took advantage of the troubles and divisions which happened throughout the whole empire of Syria, to extend his dominions, by making himself master of many places in Syria, Phœnicia, and Arabia, which lay commodiously for him. He laboured also at the same time to render himself absolute and independent. He succeeded so well, that from thenceforth neither himself nor any of his descendants were dependent in the least upon the kings of Syria. They threw off entirely the yoke of subjection, and even that of homage.

Phraates,[g] flushed with his great successes and the victory he had gained, designed to carry the war into Syria, in revenge for Antiochus's invasion of his dominions. But, whilst he was making his preparations for that expedition, an unexpected war broke out with the Scythians, who found him employment enough at home, to remove all thoughts of disquieting others abroad. Finding himself vigorously pressed by Antiochus, as we have seen, he had demanded aid of that people. When they arrived, the affair was terminated; and having no further

A. M. 3875. Ant. J. C. 129.

[f] Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 17. Strab. l. xvi. p. 761. Justin. l. xxxvi. c. 1.

[g] Justin. l. xxxix. c. 1. et l. xliii. c. 1 & 2.

occasion for them, he would not give them the sums he had engaged to pay them. The Scythians immediately turned their arms against himself, to avenge themselves for the injustice he had done them.

It was a great error in this prince to have disgusted so powerful a nation by a mean and sordid avarice; and he committed a second, no less considerable, in the war itself. To strengthen himself against that nation, he sought aid from a people to whom he had made himself more hateful than to the Scythians themselves; these were the Greek foreign troops, who had been in the pay of Antiochus in the last war against him, and had been made prisoners. Phraates thought proper to incorporate them into his own troops; believing that he should considerably reinforce them by that means. But when they saw themselves with arms in their hands, they were resolved to be revenged for the injuries and ill-treatment they had suffered during their captivity; and as soon as the armies engaged, they went over to the enemy, and gave such a turn to the battle, whilst the victory was in suspense, that Phraates was defeated with a great slaughter of his troops. He perished himself in the pursuit, and almost his whole army, The Scythians and Greeks contented themselves with plundering the country, and then retired to their several homes.

When they were gone, Artaban, Phraates's uncle, caused himself to be crowned king of the Parthians. He was killed some days after in a battle with the Thogarians, another Scythian nation. Mithridates was his successor, who for his glorious actions was surnamed the Great.

A. M. 3874. Ant. J. C. 130. During all these revolutions [h] in the Syrian and Parthian empires, Ptolemy Physcon did not alter his conduct in Egypt. I have already observed,

[h] Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 8, 9. l. xxxix. c. 1. Val. Max. l. ix. c. 2—7. Oros. l. v. c. 10. Epit. Liv. l. lix. lx. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 374—376. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 17.

that on his marriage with his sister Cleopatra, who was his brother's widow, he had killed in her arms the son she had by his brother, on the very day of their nuptials. Afterwards, having taken a disgust for the mother, he fell passionately in love with one of her daughters by Philometor, called also Cleopatra. He began by violating her, and then married her, after turning away her mother.

He soon made himself hated also by the new inhabitants of Alexandria, whom he had drawn thither to repeople it, and supply the places of those whom his former cruelties had obliged to abandon their country. To put them out of a condition to do him hurt, he resolved to have the throats cut of all the young people in the city, in whom its whole force consisted. For that purpose, he caused them to be invested one day by his foreign troops in the place where the exercises were performed, when the assembly there was most numerous, and put them all to the sword. The whole people ran in a fury to set fire to the palace, and to burn him in it; but he had quitted it before they arrived there, and made his escape into Cyprus, with his wife Cleopatra, and his son Memphitis. Upon his arrival there, he was informed that the people of Alexandria had put the government into the hands of Cleopatra, whom he had repudiated. He immediately raised troops to make war upon the new queen and her adherents.

But first, apprehending that the Alexandrians would make his son king, to whom he had given the government of Cyrenaica, he caused him to come to him, and put him to death as soon as he arrived, only to prevent a pretended danger, which had no foundation but in his falsely-alarmed imagination. That barbarity enraged every body the more against him. They pulled down and dashed to pieces all his statues in Alexandria. He believed that Cleopatra, whom he had repudiated, had induced the people to this action; and to be revenged of her, ordered the throat of Memphitis to be cut, A. M. 3875. Ant. J. C. 129.

a young prince whom he had by her, of great beauty and hopes. He afterwards caused the body to be cut in pieces, and put into a chest, with the head entire, that it might be known, and sent it by one of his guards to Alexandria, with orders to wait till the birth-day of that princess, which was approaching, and was to be celebrated with great magnificence, and then to present it to her. His orders were obeyed. The chest was delivered to her in the midst of the rejoicings of the feast, which were immediately changed into mourning and lamentations. The horror cannot be expressed which the view of that sad object excited against the tyrant, whose monstrous barbarity had perpetrated so unnatural and unheard-of a crime. The abominable present was exposed to the view of the public, with whom it had the same effect as with the court, who had first seen that sad spectacle. The people ran to arms; and nothing was thought of, but how to prevent that monster from ever re-ascending the throne. An army was formed, and the command of it given to Marsyas, whom the queen had appointed general, and all the necessary precautions were taken for the defence of the country.

A. M. 2875. Ant. J. C. 129. Ptolemy Physcon having raised an army on his side, gave the command of it to Hegelochus, and sent him against the Alexandrians. A battle was fought and gained by Hegelochus. He even took Marsyas prisoner, and sent him loaded with chains to Physcon. It was expected that so bloody a tyrant would have put him to death in the most exquisite torments; but the contrary happened. He gave him his pardon, and set him at liberty. For finding by experience, that his cruelties only drew misfortunes upon him, he began to abate in them, and was for doing himself honour by his lenity. Cleopatra, reduced to great extremities by the loss of her army, which was almost entirely cut to pieces in the pursuit, sent to demand aid of Demetrius king of Syria, who had married her eldest daughter

by Philometor, and promised him the crown of Egypt for his reward. Demetrius, without hesitation, accepted that proposal, marched with all his troops, and laid siege to Pelusium.

That prince was no less hated by the Syrians for his haughtiness, tyranny, and excesses, than Physcon by the Egyptians. When they saw him at a distance and employed in the siege of Pelusium, they took up arms. The people of Antioch began, and after them those of Apamea; many other cities of Syria followed their example, and joined with them. Demetrius was obliged to leave Egypt, in order to reduce his own subjects to obedience. Cleopatra, destitute of the aid she expected from him, embarked with all her treasures, and took refuge with her daughter Cleopatra, queen of Syria.

This Cleopatra, the daughter, had been first married to Alexander Bala, and afterwards to Demetrius, in the life-time of her father Philometor. But Demetrius, having been taken prisoner by the Parthians, and detained amongst them, she had married Antiochus Sidetes, Demetrius's brother. After the death of Sidetes, she returned to Demetrius, her first husband, who being set at liberty by the Parthians, had repossessed himself of Syria: she kept her court at Ptolemais, where her mother came to her.

Physcon, as soon as Cleopatra had abandoned Alexandria, returned thither, and reassumed the government. For after the defeat of Marsyas, and the flight of Cleopatra, there was nobody in condition to oppose him. After having employed some time in strengthening himself, to revenge the invasion of Demetrius, he set up against him an impostor called Alexander Zebina. He was the son of a broker of Alexandria. He gave himself out for the son of Alexander Bala, and pretended, in that quality, that the crown of Syria was his right. A.M. 3877. Ant. J.C. 127.

Physcon lent him an army to put him in possession of it. He was no sooner in Syria, than, without examining the justice of his pretensions, the people came in crowds to join him, out of their hatred to Demetrius. They cared not who was to be their king, provided they got rid of him.

At length a battle decided the affair. It was fought near Damascus, in Cœle-syria. Demetrius was entirely defeated, and fled to Ptolemais, where his wife Cleopatra was. She, who had always at heart his marriage with Rhodoguna amongst the Parthians, took this occasion to be revenged, and caused the gates of the city to be shut against him. Would not one think, that in the age of which we now treat, there was a kind of dispute and emulation between the princes and princesses, who should distinguish themselves most by wickedness and the blackest crimes? Demetrius was obliged to fly to Tyre, where he was killed. After his death, Cleopatra preserved for herself part of the kingdom: Zebina had all the rest; and, to establish himself the better, made a strict alliance with Hyrcanus, who, as an able statesman, took the advantage of these divisions to strengthen himself, and to obtain for his people the confirmation of their liberty, and many other considerable advantages, which rendered the Jews formidable to their enemies.

He had sent the preceding year an [1] embassy to Rome to renew the treaty made with Simon his father. The senate received those ambassadors very graciously, and granted them all they demanded. And because Antiochus Sidetes had made war against the Jews, contrary to the decree of the Romans, and his alliance with Simon; had taken several cities; had made them pay tribute for Gazara, Joppa, and some other places which he had ceded to them; and had made them consent by force to a disadvantageous peace, by

[1] Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 17.

besieging the city of Jerusalem;—upon what the ambassadors represented to the senate on these heads, they condemned all that had been done in such manner against the Jews from the time of the treaty made with Simon, and resolved that Gazara, Joppa, and the rest of the places taken from them by the Syrians, or which had been made tributary, contrary to the tenor of that treaty, should be restored to them, and exempted from all homage, tribute, or other subjection. It was also decreed that the Syrians should make amends for all losses that the Jews had sustained from them in contravention to the senate's regulations in the treaty concluded with Simon: in fine; that the kings of Syria should renounce their pretended right to march their troops into the territories of the Jews.

At the time of which we speak, [k] incredible swarms of locusts laid Africa waste in an unheard-of manner. They ate up all the fruits of the earth; and afterwards, being carried by the wind into the sea, their dead bodies were thrown by the waves upon the shore, where they rotted, and infected the air to such a degree, that they occasioned a pestilence, which carried off in Lybia, Cyrenaica, and some other parts of Africa, more than eight hundred thousand souls. A. M. 3879. Ant. J. C. 125.

We have seen that Cleopatra [l] had possessed herself of part of the kingdom of Syria, at the death of Demetrius Nicator her husband. He left two sons by that princess, the eldest of whom, called Seleucus, conceived hopes of ascending the throne of his father, and accordingly caused himself to be declared king. His ambitious mother was anxious to reign alone, and was very much offended at her son's intention to establish himself to her prejudice. She had also reason to fear that he might desire to avenge his father's death, of which it was well known she had A. M. 3880. Ant. J. C. 124.

[k] Liv. Epit. l. lx. Oros. l. v. c. 11.

[l] Liv. Epit. l. lx. Justin. l. xxxix. c. 1, 2. Appian. in Syr. p. 132.

been the cause. She killed him with her own hands, by plunging a dagger into his breast. He reigned only one year. It is hardly conceivable, how a woman and a mother could be capable of committing such horrid excesses: but when some unjust passion takes possession of the heart, it becomes the source of every kind of guilt. However gentle it may appear, it is not far from arming itself with poniards, and from having recourse to poison; because, being anxious to attain its ends, it has a natural tendency to destroy every thing which opposes that view.

Zebina had made himself master of part of the kingdom of Syria. Three of his principal officers revolted against him, and declared for Cleopatra. They took the city of Laodicea, and resolved to defend that place against him. But he found means to bring them to reason. They submitted, and he pardoned them with the most uncommon clemency and greatness of soul, and without doing them any hurt. This pretended prince had in reality an exceeding good heart. He received all who approached him in the most affable and engaging manner, so that he acquired the love of all men, and even of those who abhorred the imposture by which he had usurped the crown.

Mithridates Euergetes, king of Pontus, died this year; he was assassinated by his own servants. His son, who succeeded him, was the famous Mithridates Eupator, who disputed so long the empire of Asia with the Romans, and supported a war of almost thirty year's duration against them. He was but twelve years of age when his father died. I shall make his history a separate article.

A. M. 3881. Ant. J. C. 123. Cleopatra, after having killed her eldest son, believed it for her interest to make a titular king, under whose name she might conceal the authority which she intended to retain entirely to herself. She well knew that a warlike people, accustomed to be governed by kings, would always re-

gard the throne as vacant whilst filled only by a princess, and that they would not fail to offer it to any prince that should set up for it. She therefore caused her other son, Antiochus, to return from Athens, whither she had sent him for his education, and ordered him to be declared king as soon as he arrived. But that was no more than an empty title. She gave him no share in the affairs of government; and as that prince was very young, being no more that twenty years of age, he suffered her to govern for some time with patience enough. To distinguish him from other princes of the name of Antiochus, he was generally called by the surname of *Grypus*,* taken from his great nose. Josephus calls him *Philometor;* but that prince in his medals took the title of *Epiphanes*.

Zebina having well established himself, after the death of Demetrius Nicator, in the possession of part of the Syrian empire, Physcon, who looked upon him as his creature, insisted upon his doing him homage for it. Zebina refused in direct terms to comply with that demand. Physcon resolved to throw him down as he had set him up; and having accommodated all differences with his niece Cleopatra, he sent a considerable army to the assistance of Grypus, and gave him his daughter Tryphena in marriage. Grypus, by the means of this aid, defeated Zebina, and obliged him to retire to Antioch. The latter formed a design of plundering the temple of Jupiter, to defray the expences of the war. Upon its being discovered, the inhabitants rose, and drove him out of the city. He wandered some time about the country from place to place, but was taken at last and put to death. A. M. 3882 Ant. J. C. 122.

After the defeat and death of Zebina, Antiochus Grypus, believing himself of sufficient years, resolved to take the government upon himself. The ambitious Cleopatra, who saw her power diminished, A. M. 3884. Ant. J. C. 120.

* Γρυπὸς in Greek signifies a man with an aquiline nose.

and grandeur eclipsed by that measure, could not suffer it. To render herself again absolute mistress of the government of Syria, she resolved to rid herself of Grypus, as she had already done of his brother Seleucus, and to give the crown to another of her sons by Antiochus Sidetes, under whom, being an infant, she was in hopes of possessing the royal authority for many years, and of taking such measures as might establish her in it during her life. This wicked woman prepared a poisoned draught for that purpose, which she presented to Grypus one day as he returned very hot from some exercise. But that prince having been apprised of her design, desired her first, by way of respect, to drink the cup herself; and upon her obstinate refusal to do it, having called in some witnesses, he gave her to understand, that the only means she had to clear herself of the suspicions conceived against her, was to drink the liquor she had presented to him. That unhappy woman, who found herself without evasion or resource, swallowed the draught. The poison took effect immediately, and delivered Syria from a monster, who, by her unheard-of crimes, had been so long the scourge of the state. She had been the wife of three * kings of Syria, and the mother of four. She had occasioned the death of two of her husbands; and as to her children, she had murdered one with her own hands, and would have destroyed Grypus by the poison which he made her drink herself. That prince afterwards applied himself with success to the affairs of the public, and reigned several years in peace and tranquillity, till his brother Antiochus of Cyzicum occasioned the troubles we shall relate hereafter.

* The three kings of Syria, who had been her husbands, were Alexander Bala, Demetrius Nicator, and Antiochus Sidetes. Her four sons were Antiochus, by Alexander Bala; Seleucus and Antiochus Grypus, by Demetrius; and Antiochus the Cyzicenian, by Antiochus Sidetes.

Ptolemy Physcon, king of Egypt, [m] after having reigned twenty-nine years from the death of his brother Philometor, died at last in Alexandria. No reign was ever more tyrannical, nor abounded more with crimes than his. A. M. 3887. Ant. J. C. 117.

SECT. VI. *Ptolemy Lathyrus succeeds Physcon. War between Grypus and his brother Antiochus of Cyzicum, for the kingdom of Syria. Hyrcanus fortifies himself in Judæa. His death. Aristobulus succeeds him, and assumes the title of king. He is succeeded by Alexander Jannæus. Cleopatra drives Lathyrus out of Egypt, and places Alexander, his youngest brother, on the throne in his stead. War between that princess and her sons. Death of Grypus. Ptolemy Apion leaves the kingdom of Cyrenaica to the Romans. Continuation of the wars in Syria and Egypt. The Syrians choose Tigranes king. Lathyrus is re-established upon the throne of Egypt. He dies. Alexander his nephew succeeds him. Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, makes the Roman people his heirs.*

PHYSCON [a] at his death left three sons. The first, named Apion, was a natural son, whom he had by a concubine. The two others were legitimate, and the children of his niece Cleopatra, whom he married after having repudiated her mother. The eldest was called Lathyrus, and the other Alexander. A. M. 3887. Ant. J. C. 117.

He left the kingdom of Cyrenaica by will to Apion, and Egypt to his widow Cleopatra, and to whichever of his two sons she should think fit to choose. Cleopatra believing that Alexander would be the most complaisant, resolved to choose him; but the people

[m] Porphyr. in Græc. Euseb. Scal. Hieron. in Dan. ix.

[a] Justin. l. xxxix. c. 4, 5. Appian. in Mithrid. sub finem, & in Syr. p. 132. Strab. l. xvii. p. 795. Plin. l. ii. c. 67. & l. vi. c. 30. Porphyr. in Græc. Euseb. Scalig. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 18. Diod. in Excerpt. Vales. p. 385.

would not suffer the eldest to lose his birth-right, and obliged the queen to recall him from Cyprus, whither she had caused him to be banished by his father, and to associate him with her on the throne. Before she would suffer him to take possession of the throne at Memphis according to custom, she obliged him to repudiate his eldest sister Cleopatra, whom he passionately loved, and to take Selene, his youngest sister, for whom he had no inclination. Arrangements of this kind promise no very pacific reign.

At his coronation he took the title of Soter. Some authors give him that of Philometor; but the generality of historians distinguish him by the name of * Lathyrus. However, as that was but a kind of nick-name, nobody dared to give it him in his own time.

A. M. 3890. Ant. J. C. 114. Antiochus Grypus, king of Syria, was making preparations for invading Judæa, when a civil war broke out to employ him, which was fomented by Antiochus of Cyzicum, his brother by the mother's side. He was the son of Cleopatra and Antiochus Sidetes, and born whilst Demetrius was prisoner amongst the Parthians. When Demetrius returned, and repossessed himself of his dominions after the death of Antiochus Sidetes, his mother, out of regard to his safety, had sent him to Cyzicum, a city situate upon the Propontis, in Mysia Minor, where he was educated by the care of a faithful eunuch named Craterus, to whom she had intrusted him. From thence he was called the Cyzicenian. Grypus, to whom he gave umbrage, wished to have him poisoned. His design was discovered, and the Cyzicenian was compelled to take up arms in his own defence, and to endeavour to make good his pretensions to the crown of Syria.

* Ἀάθυρος signifies a kind of pea, called in Latin *cicer*; from which came the surname of Cicero. Lathyrus must have had some very visible mark of this sort upon his face, or the name would have been still more offensive.

Cleopatra, whom Lathyrus had been obliged to repudiate, finding herself at her own disposal, married the Cyzicenian. She brought him an * army for her dowry, to assist him against his competitor.— Their forces by that means being very near equal, the two brothers came to a battle, in which the Cyzicenian having the misfortune to be defeated, retired to Antioch. He left his wife in that place, where he fancied she would be secure, and went himself to raise new troops for the reinforcement of his army. A. M. 3891. Ant. J. C. 113.

But Grypus immediately laid siege to the city, and took it. Tryphena, his wife, was very earnest with him to put Cleopatra his prisoner into her hands. Though her sister by father and mother, she was so excessively enraged at her for having married their enemy, and giving him an army against them, that she resolved to deprive her of life. Cleopatra had taken refuge in one of the temples of Antioch; a sanctuary which was held inviolable. Grypus would not show a complaisance for his wife, which he saw would be attended with fatal effects from the violence of her rage. He alleged to her the sanctity of the asylum where her sister had taken refuge; and represented, that her death would neither be of use to them, nor of prejudice to the Cyzicenian; that in all the civil or foreign wars, wherein his ancestors had been engaged, it had never been known, that after victory any cruelty had been exercised against the women, especially against so near a relation; that Cleopatra was her sister, and his near † relation: that therefore he desired her to speak no more of her to him, because he could by no means consent

* We find in the latter editions of Justin the following words: *exercitum Grypi sollicitatum, velut dotalem, ad maritum deducit;* which shows, that Cleopatra, having succeeded in corrupting part of Grypus's army, carried it to her husband. Several editions read *Cypri* instead of *Grypi*, which would imply, that Cleopatra had an army in Cyprus.

† Her father Physcon was the uncle of Cleopatra, Grypus's mother.

to her being treated with any severities. *Tryphena, far from acquiescing in his reasons, became more violent through sentiments of jealousy; imagining, that it was not through compassion, but love, that her husband thus took the part of that unfortunate princess. She therefore sent soldiers into the temple, who could not tear her in any other manner from the altar, than by cutting off her hands with which she embraced it. Cleopatra expired, uttering a thousand curses against the parricides who were the authors of her death, and imploring the god, in whose sight so barbarous a cruelty was committed, to avenge her upon them.

However, the other Cleopatra, the common mother of the two sisters, did not seem to be affected at all, with either the fate of the one or the crime of the other. Her heart, which was solely susceptible of ambition, was so taken up with the desire of reigning, that she had no other thoughts than of the means of supporting herself in Egypt, and of retaining an absolute authority in her own hands during her life. To strengthen herself the better, she gave the kingdom of Cyprus to Alexander her youngest son, in order to draw from him the assistance for which she might have occasion, in case Lathyrus should ever dispute the authority she was determined to keep.

A. M. 3892. Ant. J. C. 112. The death of Cleopatra in Syria did not long remain unpunished. The Cyzicenian returned at the head of a new army to give his brother battle a second time, defeated him, and took Tryphena, upon whom he inflicted the torments which her cruelty to her sister had well deserved.

Grypus was obliged to abandon Syria to the victor. He retired to Aspendus in Pamphylia, which occasioned his being sometimes called in history the Aspendian, but returned a year after into Syria, and repossessed himself of it. The two brothers at

A. M. 3893. Ant. J. C. 111.

* *Sed quanto Grypus almuit, tanto soror muliebri pertinaciâ accenditur, rata non misericordiæ hæc verba sed amoris esse.* Justin.

length divided that empire between them. The Cyzicenian had Cœle-syria and Phœnicia, and took up his residence at Damascus. Grypus had all the rest, and kept his court at Antioch. Both equally abandoned themselves to luxury, and many other excesses.

Whilst the two brothers[b] were exhausting their forces against one another, or indolently dozed after the peace in luxurious sloth and ease, John Hyrcanus was augmenting his wealth and power; and seeing that he had nothing to fear from them, he undertook to reduce the city of Samaria. He sent Aristobulus and Antigonus, two of his sons, to form the siege of that place. The Samaritans demanded aid of the Cyzicenian, king of Damascus, who marched thither at the head of an army. The two brothers quitted their lines, and a battle ensued, wherein Antiochus was defeated, and pursued as far as Scythopolis, escaping with great difficulty. A. M. 3894. Ant. J. C. 110.

The two brothers after this victory returned to the siege, and pressed the city so vigorously, that it was obliged a second time to send to the Cyzicenian, to solicit him to come again to its aid. But he had not troops enough to undertake the raising of the siege; and the same request was made to Lathyrus, king of Egypt, who granted six thousand men, contrary to the opinion of Cleopatra his mother. As Chelcias and Ananias, two Jews, were her favourites, ministers, and generals, both the sons of Onias, who built the temple of Egypt, those two ministers, who entirely governed her, influenced her in favour of their nation; and out of regard for them, she would not do any thing to the prejudice of the Jews. She was almost resolved to depose Lathyrus for having engaged in this war without her consent, and even against her will. A. M. 3895. Ant. J. C. 109.

When the auxiliary troops of Egypt arrived, the Cyzicenian joined them with his. He was afraid, however to attack the army that formed the siege,

[b] Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 17—19.

and contented himself with ravaging the country, by flying parties and excursions, in order to form a diversion, and to induce the enemy to raise the siege, in order to defend themselves at home. But seeing that the Jewish army did not move, and that his own was much diminished by the defeat of some detachments, by desertion, and other accidents; he thought it improper to expose his person by continuing in the field with an army so much weakened, and retired to Tripoli. He left the command of his troops to two of his best generals, Callimander and Epicrates. The first was killed in a rash enterprise, in which his whole party perished with him. Epicrates, seeing no hopes of success, had no farther thoughts but of serving his private interest in the best manner he could in the present situation of affairs. He treated secretly with Hyrcanus, and for a sum of money put Scythopolis into his hands, with all the other places which the Syrians possessed in the country, without regard to his duty, honour, and reputation; and all for a sum perhaps inconsiderable enough.

Samaria, destitute of all appearance of relief, was obliged, after having sustained a siege for a year, to surrender at last to Hyrcanus, who immediately ordered it to be demolished. The walls of the city, and the houses of the inhabitants, were entirely rased and laid level with the ground; and, to prevent its being rebuilt, he caused large and deep ditches to be cut through the new plain where the city had stood, into which water was turned. It was not re-established till the time of Herod, who gave the new city, which he caused to be rebuilt there, the name of Sebaste[c] in honour of Augustus.

Hyrcanus saw himself at that time master of all Judæa, Galilee, Samaria, and of many places upon the frontiers, and became thereby one of the most considerable princes of his time. None of his neighbours dared to attack him any more, and he passed

[c] Σέβαστος in Greek signifies Augustus.

the rest of his days in perfect tranquillity with regard to foreign affairs.

A.M. 3896. Ant. J.C. 108.

But towards the close of his life he did not find the same repose at home. The Pharisees, a violent and rebellious sect, gave him abundance of vexation. By an affected profession of attachment to the law, and a severity of manners, they had acquired a reputation which gave them great sway amongst the people. Hyrcanus had endeavoured, by all sorts of favours, to engage them in his interests. Besides having been educated amongst them, and having always professed their sect, he had protected and served them upon all occasions; and, to make them more firmly his adherents, not long before he had invited the heads of them to a magnificent entertainment, in which he made a speech to them, highly capable of affecting reasonable minds. He represented, that it had always been his intention, as they well knew, to be just in his actions towards men, and to do all things in regard to GOD that might be agreeable to him, according to the doctrine taught by the Pharisees: that he conjured them therefore, if they saw that he departed in any thing from the great end he proposed to himself in those two rules, that they would give him their instructions, in order to his amending and correcting his errors. Such a disposition is highly laudable in princes, and in all men; but it ought to be attended with prudence and discernment.

The whole assembly applauded this discourse, and highly praised him for it. One man only, named Eleazar, of a turbulent and seditious spirit, rose up, and spoke to him to this effect: "Since you desire "that the truth should be told you with freedom, if "you would prove yourself just, renounce the high-"priesthood, and content yourself with the civil go-"vernment." Hyrcanus was surprised, and asked him what reasons he had to give him such counsel. Eleazar replied, that it was known from the testimony of aged persons worthy of belief, that his

mother was a captive, and that, as the son of a stranger, he was incapable by the law of holding that office. If the fact had been true, Eleazar would have been in the right; [d] for the law was express in that point: but it was a false supposition, and a mere calumny; and all who were present extremely blamed him for advancing it, and expressed great indignation upon that account.

This adventure, however, occasioned great troubles. Hyrcanus was highly incensed at so insolent an attempt to defame his mother, and call in question the purity of his birth, and, in consequence, to invalidate his right to the high-priesthood. Jonathan, his intimate friend and a zealous Sadducee, took advantage of this opportunity to incense him against the whole party, and to bring him over to that of the Sadducees.

Two powerful sects in Judæa, but directly opposite to each other in sentiments and interests, entirely divided the state; that of the Pharisees, and that of the Sadducees. The first piqued themselves upon an exact observance of the law; to which they added a great number of traditions, that they pretended to have received from their ancestors, and to which they much more strictly adhered than to the law itself, though often contrary to what the latter enjoined. They acknowledged the immortality of the soul, and, in consequence, another life after this.—They affected an outside of virtue, regularity, and austerity, which gained them great consideration with the people. But under that imposing appearance they concealed the greatest vices: sordid avarice; insupportable pride; an insatiable thirst of honours and distinctions; a violent desire of ruling alone; an envy, that rose almost to fury, against all merit but their own; an irreconcileable hatred for all who presumed to contradict them; a spirit of revenge capable of the most horrid excesses; and what was still more their

[d] Lev. xxi. 15.

distinguishing characteristic, and outdid all the rest, a black hypocrisy, which always wore the mask of religion. The Sadducees rejected the Pharisaical traditions with contempt, denied the immortality of the soul, and the resurrection of the body; and admitted no felicity, but that which may be enjoyed in this life. The rich, the nobility, and most of those who composed the Sanhedrim, that is to say, the Great Council of the Jews, in which the affairs of state and religion were determined, were of this latter sect.

Jonathan, therefore, to bring over Hyrcanus to his party, insinuated to him, that what had passed was not the mere suggestion of Eleazar, but a trick concerted by the whole cabal, of which Eleazar had only been the tool; and that, in order to convince himself of the truth of this assertion, he had only to consult them upon the punishment which the calumniator deserved; that he would find, if he thought fit to make the experiment, by their conduct in favour of the criminal, that they were all of them his accomplices. Hyrcanus followed his advice, and consulted the chief men among the Pharisees upon the punishment due to the person who had so grossly defamed the prince and high-priest of his people, expecting that they would undoubtedly condemn him to die. But their answer was, that calumny was not a capital crime; and that all the punishment he deserved, was to be scourged and imprisoned. So much lenity in so heinous a case, made Hyrcanus believe all that Jonathan had insinuated; and he became the mortal enemy of the whole sect of the Pharisees. He prohibited, by a decree, the observation of the regulations founded upon their pretended tradition; inflicted penalties upon such as disobeyed that ordinance; and abandoned their party entirely, to throw himself into that of the Sadducees their enemies.

Hyrcanus did not long survive this storm; he died the year following, after having been high-priest and prince of the Jews twenty-nine years. A. M. 3897. Ant. J. C. 107.

Not to interrupt the history of other kingdoms, I shall reserve the greatest part of what regards the successors of Hyrcanus for the article in which I shall treat the history of the Jews separately.

[e] We have seen that Ptolemy Lathyrus had sent an army into Palestine to aid Samaria, contrary to the advice of his mother, and notwithstanding her opposition. She carried her resentment of this and some other similar encroachments upon her authority so far, that she took his wife Selene from him, by whom he had already had two sons,* and obliged him to quit Egypt. The method which she devised to effect her purpose was this. She procured some of her favourite eunuchs to be wounded, and then produced them in an assembly of the people at Alexandria. She caused it to be reported, that they had been used thus barbarously by her son Lathyrus, for having endeavoured to defend her against his violence; and inflamed the people so much by this black fiction, which convinced them that he had designed to kill her, that they immediately rose universally against Lathyrus, and would have torn him in pieces, if he had not escaped from the port in a ship, which set sail as soon as he got on board. Cleopatra sent immediately after for Alexander, her youngest son, to whom she had given the kingdom of Cyprus, and made him king of Egypt in his brother's stead, whom she obliged to content himself with the kingdom of Cyprus, which the other quitted.

A. M. 3899. Ant. J. C. 105. Alexander, [f] king of the Jews, after having put the internal affairs of his kingdom in good order, marched against the people of Ptolemais, beat them, and obliged them to shut themselves up within their walls, where he besieged them. They sent to demand aid of Lathyrus, who went thither in person. But the besieged changing their sentiments, from the apprehension of having him for their master,

[e] Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 4. [f] Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 20, 21.

* Those two sons died before him.

Lathyrus dissembled his resentment for the present. He was upon the point of concluding a treaty with Alexander, when he was apprised that the latter was negociating secretly with Cleopatra, to engage her to join him with all her forces in order to drive him out of Palestine. Lathyrus became his declared enemy, and resolved to do him all the injury in his power.

The next year he did not fail to carry his resolution into effect. He divided his army into two bodies, and detached one of them under the command of one of his generals, to form the siege of Ptolemais, with which place he had reason to be dissatisfied; and with the other marched in person against Alexander. The inhabitants of Gaza had supplied Lathyrus with a considerable number of troops. A bloody battle was fought between them upon the banks of the Jordan. Alexander lost thirty thousand men, without including the prisoners taken by Lathyrus after the victory. A. M. 3900. Ant. J. C. 104.

A most cruel and horrid action is related to have been committed by Lathyrus upon this occasion. The same evening that he gained this battle, in going to take up his quarters in the neighbouring villages, he found them full of women and children, and caused them all to be put to the sword, and their bodies to be cut in pieces and put into caldrons to be cooked, as if he intended to make his army sup upon them. His design was to have it believed that his troops ate human flesh, to spread the greater terror throughout the country. Could one believe such a barbarity possible, or that any man should ever conceive so wild a thought? Josephus reports this fact upon the authority of Strabo, and another author.

Lathyrus, after the defeat of Alexander, not having any enemy in the field, ravaged and laid waste all the flat country. Without the succours brought by Cleopatra the following year Alexander would have been undone; for after so considerable a loss, it was impossible for him to retrieve his affairs, and make head against his enemy.

A. M. 3901. Ant. J. C. 103. That princess saw plainly, that if Lathyrus made himself master of Judæa and Phœnicia, he would be in a condition to enter Egypt, and to dethrone her; and that it was necessary to put a stop to his progress. For that purpose she raised an army, and gave the command of it to Chelcias and Ananias, the two Jews of whom we have spoken before. She fitted out a fleet at the same time, to transport her troops; and embarking with them herself, landed in Phœnicia.[g] She carried with her a great sum of money, and her richest jewels. In order to secure them in case of accident, she chose the isle of Cos for their repository, and sent thither at the same time her grandson Alexander, the son of him who reigned jointly with her. When Mithridates made himself master of that island, and of the treasures laid up there, he took that young prince under his care, and gave him an education suitable to his birth. Alexander withdrew by stealth from Mithridates, some time after, and took refuge with Sylla, who received him well, took him into his protection, carried him to Rome, and at length set him upon the throne of Egypt, as we shall see in the sequel.

The arrival of Cleopatra made Lathyrus immediately raise the siege of Ptolemais, which he had continued till then. He retired into Cœle-syria. She detached Chelcias with part of her army to pursue him, and with the other, commanded by Ananias, formed the siege of Ptolemais herself. Chelcias, who commanded the first detachment, having been killed in the expedition, his death put a stop to every thing. Lathyrus, to take advantage of the disorder occasioned by that loss, threw himself with all his forces into Egypt, in hopes of finding it without defence in the absence of his mother, who had carried her best troops into Phœnicia. He was mistaken. The troops Cleopatra had left there, made head till the arrival of those she detached to reinforce

A. M. 3902. Ant. J. C. 102.

[g] Appian. in Mithridat. p. 186. & de Bel. Civil. p. 414.

them from Phœnicia, upon receiving advice of his design. He was compelled to return into Palestine, and took up his winter-quarters in Gaza.

Cleopatra, in the mean time, pushed the siege of Ptolemais with so much vigour, that she at last took it. As soon as she entered it, Alexander made her a visit, and brought rich presents with him to recommend himself to her favour. But what conduced most to his success, was his hatred for her son Lathyrus; which was alone sufficient to assure him of a good reception.

Some persons of Cleopatra's court pointed out to her the fair opportunity she now had of making herself mistress of Judæa, and all Alexander's dominions, by seizing his person: they even pressed her to take the advantage of it, which she would have done, had it not been for Ananias. But he represented to her, how base and infamous it would be to treat an ally in that manner, who was engaged with her in the same cause; that it would be acting contrary to honour and good faith, which are the foundations of society; that such a conduct would be highly prejudicial to her interests, and would draw upon her the abhorrence of all the Jews dispersed throughout the world. In fine, he so effectually prevailed by his arguments and influence, which he employed to the utmost for the preservation of his countryman and relation, that she came into his opinion, and renewed her alliance with Alexander. Of how great value to princes is a wise minister, who has courage enough to oppose their unjust undertakings with vigour! Alexander returned to Jerusalem, where he at length set another good army on foot, with which he passed the Jordan, and formed the siege of Gadara.

Ptolemy Lathyrus, after having wintered at Gaza, perceiving that his efforts would be ineffectual against Palestine whilst his mother supported it, abandoned that design, and returned into Cyprus. She, on her side, retired also into Egypt, and the country was delivered from them both. A. M. 3903. Ant. J. C 101.

Being [h]informed, upon her return to Alexandria, that Lathyrus had entered into a treaty at Damascus with Antiochus the Cyzicenian, and that with the aid which he expected from him he was preparing to make a new attempt for the recovery of the crown of Egypt; that queen, to make a diversion, gave her daughter Selene, whom she had taken from Lathyrus, to Antiochus Grypus, and sent him at the same time a considerable number of troops, and great sums of money, to put him into a condition to attack his brother the Cyzicenian with vigour. The affair succeeded as she had intended. The war was renewed between the two brothers, and the Cyzicenian had so much employment upon his hands at home, that he was in no condition to assist Lathyrus, who was thereby obliged to abandon his design.

Ptolemy Alexander, his younger brother, whom she had placed upon the throne in conjunction with herself, shocked by the barbarous cruelty with which she persecuted his brother Lathyrus, especially in depriving him of his wife to give her to his enemy; and observing besides, that the greatest crimes cost her nothing, when the gratification of her ambition was concerned; did not believe himself safe near her, and resolved to abandon the throne, and retire; preferring a quiet life without fear in banishment, to reigning with so wicked and cruel a mother, with whom he was perpetually in danger. It was not without abundant solicitation he was prevailed upon to return: for the people were absolutely determined that she should not reign alone, though they well knew that she gave her son only the name of king; that since the death of Physcon she had always engrossed the whole royal authority; and that the real cause of Lathyrus's disgrace, which had cost him his crown and wife, was his having presumed to act in one instance without her.

[h] Justin. l. xxxix. c. 4.

The death of Antiochus Grypus happened this year. He was assassinated by Heracleon, one of his own vassals, after having reigned twenty-seven years. He left five sons; Seleucus, the eldest, succeeded him; the four others were Antiochus and Philip, twins; Demetrius Eucheres, and Antiochus Dionysius. They were all kings in their turns, or at least pretended to the crown. A. M. 3907. Ant. J. C. 97.

Ptolemy Apion,[i] son of Physcon, king of Egypt, to whom his father had given the kingdom of Cyrenaica, dying without issue, left his kingdom to the Romans by will; who, instead of taking advantage of that legacy, gave the cities their liberty, which soon filled the whole country with tyrants; because the most powerful persons of each of those small states were for making themselves sovereigns of them. Lucullus, in passing that way against Mithridates, remedied those disorders in some measure; but there was no other means of re-establishing peace and good order, than by reducing the country into a province of the Roman empire, as was afterwards done. A. M. 3908. Ant. J. C. 96.

Antiochus the Cyzicenian seized Antioch,[k] after the death of Grypus, and used his utmost endeavours to dispossess Grypus's children of the rest of the kingdom. But Seleucus, who was in possession of many other strong cities, maintained himself against him, and found means to support his right.

Tigranes, son of Tigranes king of Armenia,[l] who had been kept as a hostage by the Parthians during the life of his father, was released at his death, and set upon the throne, on condition that he should resign certain places to the Parthians which lay conveniently for them. This happened twenty-five years before he espoused the part of Mithridates against the Romans. I shall have occasion hereafter to speak of this Tigranes, and of the kingdom of Armenia. A. M. 3909. Ant. J. C. 95.

[i] Liv. Epit. l. lxx. Plut. in Lucul. p. 492. Justin. l. xxxix. c. 5. [k] Porphyr. in Græc. Scal. [l] Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 3. Appian. in Syr. p. 118. Strab. l. xi. p. 532.

A. M. 3910. Ant. J. C. 94. The Cyzicenian,[m] who saw that Seleucus was gaining strength every day in Syria, set out from Antioch to give him battle; but being defeated, he was made prisoner, and put to death. Seleucus entered Antioch, and saw himself in possession of the whole empire of Syria; but could not keep it long. Antiochus Eusebes, son of the Cyzicenian, who made his escape from Antioch, when Seleucus took it, went to Aradus,* where he caused himself to be crowned king. From thence he marched with a considerable army against Seleucus, obtained a great victory over him, and obliged him to shut himself up in Mopsuestia, a city of Cilicia, and to abandon all the rest to the mercy of the victor. In this retirement he oppressed the inhabitants so much by the heavy subsidies which he exacted from them, that at length they mutinied, invested the house where he resided, and set it on fire. Himself, and all who were in it, perished in the flames.

A. M. 3911. Ant. J. C. 93.

A. M. 3912. Ant. J. C. 92. Antiochus and Philip, the twin-sons of Grypus, to revenge the death of their brother Seleucus, marched at the head of all the troops they could raise against Mopsuestia. They took and demolished the city, and put all the inhabitants to the sword. But on their return, Eusebes charged them near the Orontes, and defeated them. Antiochus was drowned in endeavouring to swim his horse over that river. Philip made a fine retreat with a considerable body of men, which soon increased to such a number, as enabled him to keep the field, and dispute the empire with Eusebes.

The latter, to strengthen himself upon the throne, had married Selene the widow of Grypus. That politic princess, upon her husband's death, had found means to secure part of the empire in her own possession, and had provided herself with good

[m] Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 21. Appian. in Syr. p. 132. Porphyr. in Græc. Scal.

* An island and city of Phœnicia.

troops. Eusebes married her, therefore, in order to augment his forces. Lathyrus, from whom she had been taken, to avenge himself for this fresh insult, sent to Cnidos for Demetrius Eucheres, the fourth son of Grypus, who was brought up in that place, and made him king at Damascus. Eusebes and Philip were too much employed against each other to prevent that blow. For though Eusebes had well retrieved his affairs, and augmented his power by his marriage, Philip, however, still supported himself, and at last so totally defeated Eusebes in a great battle, that he was reduced to abandon his dominions, and take refuge amongst the Parthians, whose king at that time was Mithridates II. surnamed the Great. The empire of Syria by this means became divided between Philip and Demetrius. Two years after, Eusebes, assisted by the Parthians, returned into Syria, repossessed himself of part of what he had before, and involved Philip in new difficulties. Another competitor fell also upon his hands, almost at the same time; this was Antiochus Dionysius, his brother, the fifth son of Grypus. He seized the city of Damascus, established himself there as king of Cœlè-syria, and supported himself in that city for three years.

Affairs[n] were neither more quiet, nor crimes and perfidy more rare, in Egypt than in Syria. Cleopatra, not being able to bear a companion in the supreme authority, nor to admit her son Alexander to share the honour of the throne with her, resolved to rid herself of him, in order to reign alone for the future. That prince, who was apprised of her design, prevented her, and put her to death. She was a monster of a woman, who had spared neither her mother, her sons, nor her daughters, and had sacrificed every thing to the ambitious desire of reigning. She was punished in this manner for her crimes, but by a crime equal to her own. A. M. 3915. Ant. J. C. 90.

[n] Justin. l. xxxix. c. 4. Pausan. in Attic. p. 15. Athen. l. xii. p. 550.

I do not doubt but the reader, as well as myself, is struck with horror at the sight of so dreadful a scene as our history has for some time exhibited. It furnishes us no where with such frequent and sudden revolutions, nor with examples of so many kings dethroned, betrayed, and murdered by their nearest relations, their brothers, sons, mothers, wives, friends, and confidants; who all in cold blood, with premeditated design, reflection, and concerted policy, employ the most odious and most inhuman means to effect their purpose. Never was the anger of Heaven more distinctly visible, nor more dreadfully inflicted, than upon these princes and nations. We see here a sad complication of the blackest and most detestable crimes; perfidy, imposture of heirs, divorces, murders, poisoning, incest. Princes on a sudden become monsters, vying in treachery and wickedness with each other; attaining crowns with rapidity, and disappearing as soon; reigning only to satiate their passions, and to render their people unhappy. Such a situation of a kingdom, wherein all orders of the state are in confusion, all laws despised, justice abolished, all crimes secure of impunity, denotes approaching ruin, and seems to call for it with the loudest exclamations.

As soon as it was known at Alexandria, that it was Alexander who had caused his mother to be put to death, that horrid crime made the parricide so odious to his subjects that they could not endure him any longer. They expelled him, and called in Lathyrus, whom they replaced upon the throne, in which he supported himself to his death. Alexander having got some ships together, endeavoured to return into Egypt the year following, but without success. He perished soon after in a new expedition which he undertook.

A. M. 3921. Ant. J. C. 83. The Syrians, [a] weary of the continual wars made in their country by the princes of the house of Se-

[a] Justin. l. xl. c. 1. & 2. Appian. in Syr. p. 118. Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 24.

leucus for the sovereignty, and not being able to suffer any longer the ravages, murders, and other calamities, to which they were perpetually exposed, resolved at last to exclude them all, and to submit to a foreign prince, who might deliver them from the many evils which those divisions occasioned, and restore tranquillity to their country. Some had thoughts of Mithridates, king of Pontus; others of Ptolemy, king of Egypt: but the former was actually engaged in a war with the Romans, and the other had always been the enemy of Syria. They therefore determined upon electing Tigranes, king of Armenia; and sent ambassadors to acquaint him with their resolution, and the choice they had made of him. He agreed to it, came into Syria, and took possession of the crown, which he wore eighteen years. He governed that kingdom fourteen years together by a viceroy named Megadates, whom he did not recall from that office till he had occasion for him against the Romans.

Eusebes, being driven out of his dominions by his subjects and Tigranes, took refuge in Cilicia, where he passed the rest of his days in concealment and obscurity. As to Philip, it is not known what became of him. It is probable that he was killed in some action defending himself against Tigranes. Selene, the wife of Eusebes, retained Ptolemais, with part of Phœnicia and Cœle-syria, and [p] reigned there many years after, which enabled her to give her own two sons an education worthy of their birth. The eldest was called Antiochus Asiaticus, and the youngest Seleucus Cybiosactes. I shall have occasion to speak of them in the sequel.

Some time [q] after Ptolemy Lathyrus had been replaced upon the throne of Egypt, a considerable rebellion broke out in the Upper Egypt. The rebels,

[p] Cic. in Ver. vi. n. 61. Appian. in Syr. p. 133. Strab. l. xvii. p. 796. [q] Pausan. in Attic. p. 15.

being overthrown and defeated in a great battle, shut themselves up in the city of Thebes, where they defended themselves with incredible obstinacy. It was at length taken after a siege of three years. Lathyrus used it with so much rigour, that, from being the greatest and richest city till then in all Egypt, it was almost reduced to nothing.

A. M. 3923. Ant. J. C. 81. Lathyrus did not long survive the ruin of Thebes. Reckoning from the death of his father, he had reigned thirty-six years; eleven jointly with his mother in Egypt, eighteen in Cyprus, and seven alone in Egypt after his mother's death. Cleopatra, his daughter, succeeded him, who was his only legitimate issue. Her proper name was Berenice; but by the established custom of that family all the sons were called Ptolemy, and the daughters Cleopatra.

Sylla,[r] at that time perpetual dictator of Rome, sent Alexander to take possession of the crown of Egypt, after the death of his uncle Lathyrus, as the nearest heir male of the deceased. He was the son of that Alexander who had put his mother to death. But the people of Alexandria had already set Cleopatra upon the throne, and she had been six months in possession of it when Alexander arrived. To accommodate the difference, and not to draw Sylla, the master of Rome, and, in consequence, dispenser of law to the universe, upon their hands, it was agreed that Cleopatra and he should marry, and reign jointly. But Alexander, who either did not approve of her for a wife, or would have no associate in the throne, caused her to be put to death nineteen days after their marriage, and reigned alone fifteen years. Murder and parricide were no longer reckoned as any thing in those times, and, if I may use that expression, were grown into fashion among princes and princesses.

[r] Appian. de Bel. Civ. p. 414. Porphyr. in Græc. Scal. p. 60.

Some time after, Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, died, having first made the Roman people his heirs. His country by that means became a province of the Roman empire, as Cyrenaica did also the same year. The Romans, instead of appropriating the latter to themselves, had granted it liberty. Twenty years had since elapsed, during which term sedition and tyranny had occasioned infinite calamities. It is said, that the Jews, who had been long settled there, and composed a great part of the nation, contributed very much to those disorders. The Romans, to put a stop to them, were obliged to accept Cyrenaica, which had been bequeathed to them by the last king's will, and to reduce it into a Roman province. A. M. 3928. Ant. J. C. 76.

Appian in Mithridat. p. 218. De Bel. Civil. l. i. p. 420. Liv. Epit. l. lxx. & xciii. Plut. in Lucul. p. 492.

SECT. VII. *Selene, sister of Lathyrus, conceives hopes of the crown of Egypt; she sends two of her sons to Rome for that purpose. The eldest, called Antiochus, on his return passes through Sicily. Verres, prætor of that island, takes from him a golden candelabrum, designed for the Capitol. Antiochus, surnamed Asiaticus, after having reigned four years over part of Syria, is dispossessed of his dominions by Pompey, who reduces Syria into a province of the Roman empire. Troubles in Judæa and Egypt. The Alexandrians expel Alexander their king, and set Ptolemy Auletes on the throne in his stead. Alexander, at his death, makes the Roman people his heirs. In consequence, some years after, they order Ptolemy king of Cyprus, brother of Auletes, to be deposed, confiscate his property, and seize that island. The celebrated Cato is charged with this commission.*

A. M. 3931. Ant. J. C. 73. [t] SOME * troubles which happened in Egypt, occasioned by the disgust taken against Alexander, made Selene, the sister of Lathyrus, conceive thoughts of pretending to the crown. She sent her two sons, Antiochus Asiaticus and Seleucus, whom she had by Antiochus Eusebes, to Rome, to solicit the senate in her behalf. The important affairs which then employed Rome, at that time engaged in a war with Mithridates, and perhaps the motives of policy, from which she had hitherto always opposed the kings who were desirous of joining the forces of

[t] Cic. vi. in Ver. Orat. n. 61—67.

* *Reges Syriæ, regis Antiochi filios pueros, scitis Romæ nuper fuisse; qui venerant, non propter Syriæ regnum, nam id sine controversiâ obtinebant, ut à patre et à majoribus acceperant; sed regnum Ægypti ad se et ad Selenem matrem suam pertinere arbitrabantur. Hi, postquam temporibus populi Romani exclusi, per senatum agere quæ voluerant non potuerunt, in Syriam, in regnum patrium profecti sunt.*

Egypt with those of Syria, prevented the princes from obtaining what they demanded. After a residence of two years in Rome, and ineffectual solicitations, they set out upon their return into their own kingdom.

The eldest, * called Antiochus, resolved to pass through Sicily. He experienced an insult there, which is hardly credible, and shows how much Rome was corrupted in the times we speak of; to what an excess the avarice of the magistrates, sent into the provinces, had risen; and what horrid rapine they committed with impunity, in the sight and with the knowledge of the whole world.

Verres† was at that time prætor in Sicily. As soon as he heard that Antiochus was arrived at Syracuse, as he had reason to believe, and had been told, that that prince had abundance of rare and precious things with him, he judged his arrival a kind of rich inheritance fallen to him. He began by sending Antiochus presents considerable enough, consisting in provisions of wine, oil, and corn. He then invited him to supper. The hall was magnificently adorned. The tables were set off with all his vessels of the most excellent workmanship, of which he had a great number. The feast was sumptuous and delicate, for he had taken care that nothing should be wanting to make it so. In a word, the king withdrew, well convinced of the prætor's magnificence, and still better satisfied with the honourable reception he had given him.

* *Eorum alter, qui Antiochus vocatur, iter per Siciliam facere voluit.*

† *Itaque isto (Verre) prætore venit Syracusas. Hîc Verres hæreditatem sibi venisse arbitratus est, quod in ejus regnum ac manus venerat is, quem iste et audierat multa secum præclara habere, et suspicabatur. Mittit homini munera satis larga: hæc ad usum domesticum, vini, olei, quod visum erat, etiam tritici quod satis esset. Deinde ipsum regem ad cœnam invitat. Exornat amplè magnificéque triclinium. Exponit ea, quibus abundabat, plurima ac pulcherrima vasa argentea.....Omnibus curat rebus instructum et paratum ut sit convivium. Quid multa? Rex ita discessit, ut et istum copiosè ornatum, et se honorificè acceptum arbitraretur.*

He * invites Verres to supper in his turn; exposes all his riches, a vast quantity of silver plate, and not a few cups of gold set with jewels, after the custom of kings, especially those of Syria. There was among the rest a very large vessel for wine, made out of one precious stone. Verres takes each of these vessels into his hand one after the other, praises and admires them, while the king rejoices that the prætor of the Roman people is so well pleased with his entertainment.

On retiring from this entertainment, † the latter had no other thoughts, as the sequel sufficiently showed, than how to rifle Antiochus, and send him away fleeced and plundered of all his rich effects. He sent to desire that he would let him have the finest of the vessels he had seen at his house, under pretence of showing them to his workmen. The prince, who did not know Verres, complied without difficulty or suspicion. The prætor sent again to desire that he would lend him the beautiful vessel made of a single precious stone, that he might examine it more attentively, as he said. The king sent him that also.

But to crown all,‡ the kings of Syria, of whom we are speaking, had carried a candelabrum with them to

* *Vocat ad cœnam deinde ipse prætorem. Exponit suas copias omnes: multum argentum, non pauca etiam pocula ex auro, quæ, ut mos est regius et maximè in Syriâ, gemmis erant distincta clarissimis. Erat etiam vas vinarium ex unâ gemmâ pergrandi.—Iste unumquodque vas in manus sumere, laudare, mirari. Rex gaudere prætori populi Romani satis jucundum et gratum illud esse convivium.*

† *Postea quàm inde discessum est, cogitare iste nihil aliud, quod ipsa res declaravit, nisi quemadmodum regem ex provinciâ spoliatum expilatumque dimitteret. Mittit rogatum vasa ea, quæ pulcherrima apud illum viderat: ait se suis cælatoribus velle ostendere. Rex, qui istum non nôsset, sine ullâ suspicione libentissimè dedit. Mittit etiam trullam gemmeam rogatum: velle se eam diligentiùs considerare. Ea quoque mittitur.*

‡ *Nunc reliquum, judices, attendite—Candelabrum è gemmis clarissimis, opere mirabili perfectum, reges hi, quos dico, Romam cum attulissent, ut in Capitolio ponerent; quòd nondum etiam perfectum templum offenderant, neque ponere, neque vulgò ostendere ac proferre voluerunt; ut et magnificentius videretur, cùm suo tempore in sellâ Jovis Opt. Max: poneretur, et clarius, cùm pulchritudo ejus re-*

Rome, of singular beauty, as well from the precious stones with which it was adorned, as its exquisite workmanship. With this they intended to adorn the Capitol, which had been burnt during the wars between Marius and Sylla, and was then rebuilding. But that edifice not being finished, they would not leave it behind them, nor suffer any body to have a sight of it; in order that when it should appear, at a proper time in the temple of Jupiter, the surprise might add to the admiration of it, and the charm of novelty give new splendour to the present. They therefore chose to carry it back into Syria, resolving to send ambassadors to offer this rare and magnificent gift, amongst many others, to the god, when they should know that his statue was set up in the temple.

* Verres was informed of all this by some means or other; for the prince had taken care to keep the candelabrum concealed; not that he feared or suspected any thing, but that few people might see it before it was exposed to the public view of the Romans. The prætor demanded it of the king, and earnestly

cens ad oculos hominum atque integra perveniret. Statuerunt id secum in Syriam reportare, ut, cùm audissent simulacrum Jovis Opt. Max. dedicatum, legatos mitterent, qui cùm cæteris rebus illud quoque eximium atque pulcherrimum donum in Capitolium afferrent.

** Pervenit res ad istius aures nescio quomodo. Nam rex id celatum voluerat: non quo quidquam metuerat aut suspicaretur, sed ut ne multi illud antè perciperent oculis, quàm populus Romanus. Iste petit à rege, et cum plurimis verbis rogat, utì ad se mittat: cupere se dicit inspicere, neque se aliis videndi potestatem esse facturum. Antiochus, qui animo et puerili esset et regio, nihil de istius improbitate suspicatus est. Imperat suis, ut id in prætorium involutum quàm occultissimè deferrent. Quò posteaquam attulerunt, involucrisque rejectis constituerunt, iste clamare cœpit, dignam rem esse regno Syriæ, dignam regio munere, dignam Capitolio. Etenim erat eo splendore, qui ex clarissimis et plurimis gemmis esse debebat: eâ varietate operum, ut ars certare videretur cum copiâ; eâ magnitudine, ut intelligi posset, non ad hominum apparatum, sed ad amplissimi templi ornamentum, esse factum. Quod cùm satis jam perspexisse videretur, tollere incipiunt ut referrent, Iste ait se velle illud etiam atque etiam considerare: nequaquam se esse satiatum. Jubet illos discedere, et candelabrum relinquere. Sic illi tum inanes ad Antiochum revertuntur.*

entreated him to send it him, expressing a great desire to examine it, and promising to let nobody else see it. The young prince, with the candour and simplicity of whose youth the noble sentiments of his birth were united, was far from suspecting any bad design. He ordered his officers to carry the candelabrum secretly to Verres, well covered from sight; which was done accordingly. As soon as the wrappers were taken off, and the prætor beheld it, he cried out, This is a present worthy of a prince, worthy of a king of Syria; worthy of the Capitol. For it was amazingly splendid, from the quantity of fine jewels with which it was adorned, and the variety of the workmanship, in which art seemed to vie with the materials; and at the same time of so large a size, that it was easy to distinguish it was not intended to be used in the palaces of men, but to adorn a vast and superb temple. The officers of Antiochus, having given the prætor full time to consider it, prepared to carry it back; but were told by him, that he would examine it more at his leisure, and that his curiosity was not yet sufficiently gratified. He then bade them go home, and leave the candelabrum with him. They accordingly returned without it.

The * king was not alarmed at first, and had no suspicion:—one day, two days, several days passed, and the candelabrum was not brought home. The prince therefore sent to demand it of the prætor, who put it off till the next day; but it was not returned

* *Rex primò nihil metuere, nihil suspicari. Dies unus, alter, plures: non referri. Tum mittit rex ad istum, si sibi videatur, ut reddat. Jubet iste posteriùs ad se reverti. Mirum illi videri. Mittit iterum: non redditur. Ipse hominem appellat: rogat ut reddat. Os hominis insignemque impudentiam cognoscite. Quod sciret, quodque ex ipso rege audisset, in Capitolio esse ponendum; quod Jovi Opt. Max. quod populo Rom. servari videret, id sibi ut donaret, rogare et vehementer petere cœpit. Cùm ille se religione Jovis Capitolini et hominum existimatione impediri diceret, quòd multæ nationes testes essent illius operis ac muneris: iste homini minari acerrimè cœpit. Ubi videt eum nihilo magis minis quàm precibus permoveri, repentè hominem de provinciâ jubet ante noctem discedere. Ait se comperisse ex ejus regno piratas in Siciliam esse venturos.*

then. At length he applied in person to him, and prayed him to restore it. Who would believe it? That very candelabrum, which, he knew from the prince himself, was to be set up in the Capitol, and designed for the great Jupiter and the Roman people, Verres earnestly entreated the prince to give him. Antiochus excusing himself, both from the vow he had made to consecrate it to Jupiter, and the judgment which the many nations that had witnessed the progress of the workmanship of it, and knew for whom it was designed, would pass upon such an action: the prætor began to threaten him in the sharpest terms; but when he saw his menaces had no more effect than his entreaties, he ordered the prince to quit his province before night; and alleged for his reason, that he had received advice from good hands that pirates from Syria were about to land in Sicily.

The * king upon that withdrew to the public square, and, with tears in his eyes, declared with a loud voice, in a numerous assembly of the Syracusans, calling the gods and men to witness, that Verres had taken from him a candelabrum of gold, enriched with precious stones, which was to have been placed in the Capitol, to be a monument in that august temple of his alliance and amity with the Roman people. That he cared little, and did not complain, for the other vessels of gold and the jewels which Verres had got from him; but that to see that candelabrum taken from him by violence, was a misfortune and an affront that made him in-

* *Rex maximo conventu Syracusis, in foro, flens, deos hominesque contestans, clamare cœpit, candelabrum factum è gemmis, quod in Capitolium missurus esset, quod in templo clarissimo, populo Rom. monumentum suæ societatis amicitiæque esse voluisset, id sibi C. Verrem abstulisse. De cæteris operibus ex auro et gemmis, quæ suapenès illum essent, se non laborare: hoc sibi eripi miserum esse et indignum. Id etsi antea jam, mente et cogitatione suâ fratrisque sui, consecratum esset: tamen tum se in illo conventu civium Romanorum dare, donare, dicare, consecrare, Jovi Opt. Max. testemque ipsum Jovem suæ voluntatis ac religionis adhibere.*

consolable. That though by his intention, and that of his brother, that candelabrum was already consecrated to Jupiter; however, he offered, presented, dedicated, and consecrated it again to that god, in the presence of the Roman citizens, who heard him, and called Jupiter to witness to the sentiments of his heart, and the piety of his intentions.

A. M. 3939. Ant. J. C. 65. Antiochus Asiaticus, being returned into Asia, soon after ascended the throne: he reigned over part of the country for the space of four years. Pompey deprived him of his kingdom during the war against Mithridates, and reduced Syria into a province of the Roman empire.

What must foreign nations think, and how odious must the name of Roman be to them, when they heard it told, that in a Roman province a king had been so grossly injured by the prætor himself; a guest plundered, an ally and friend of the Roman people driven away with the highest indignity and violence! And what Cicero reproaches Verres with in this place, was not peculiar to him; it was the crime of almost all the magistrates sent by Rome into the provinces; a crime which the senate and people seemed to approve, and of which they made themselves equally guilty by their weak and abject connivance. "We* have seen for several years," says the same Cicero, in another of his Orations against Verres, "and have suffered in silence the "wealth of all nations to be transferred into the "hands of a few private persons. Athens, Pergamus, Cyzicum, Miletus, Chios, Samos, in short, "all Asia, Achaia, Greece, Sicily, are now inclosed

* *Patimur multos jam annos et silemus, cùm videamus ad paucos homines omnes omnium nationum pecunias pervenisse. Quod eo magis ferre æquo animo atque concedere videmur, quia nemo istorum dissimulat, nemo laborat, ut obscura sua cupiditas esse videatur. Ubi pecunias exterarum nationum esse arbitramini, quibus nunc omnes egent, cùm Athenas, Pergamum, Cyzicum, Miletum, Chium, Samum, totam denique Asiam, Achaiam, Græciam, Siciliam, jam in paucis villis inclusas esse videatis.* Cic. in Ver. ult. de Suppl. n. 125, 126.

" in some of the country-houses of those rich and " unjust plunderers, whilst money is universally a " prodigious rarity every where else. And we have " just reason to believe, that we ourselves connive at " all these flagrant and terrible disorders, since those " who commit, take no manner of pains to conceal " them, nor to hide their thefts and depredations " from the eyes and knowledge of the public."

Such was Rome at the time we now speak of, which soon occasioned its ruin, and the loss of its liberty. And, in my opinion, to consider in this manner the failings and vices that prevail in a state, to examine their causes and effects, to enter thus into men's most secret retirements, (if I may use that expression,) to study closely the characters and dispositions of those who govern, is a much more important part of history, than that which only treats of sieges, battles, and conquests: to which, however, we must return.

The reign of Alexander Jannæus in Judæa had always been involved in troubles and seditions, occasioned by the powerful faction of the Pharisees, that continually opposed him, because he was not of a disposition to suffer himself to be governed by them. His death [u] did not put an end to those disorders. Alexandra, his wife, was appointed supreme administratrix of the nation according to the king's last will. She caused her eldest son Hyrcanus to be acknowledged high-priest. The Pharisees continually persisted in persecuting those who had been their enemies in the late reign. That princess, at her death, had appointed Hyrcanus her sole heir; but Aristobulus, his younger brother, had the strongest party, and took his place.

A. M. 3934. Ant. J. C. 70.

Nothing [x] but troubles and violent agitations were to be seen on all sides. In Egypt, the Alexandrians,

A. M. 3939. Ant. J. C. 65.

[u] Joseph. Antiq. l. xiii. c. 23, 24. & de Bell. Judaic. i. 4. &c.

[x] Sueton. in Jul. Cæs. c. xi. Trogus in Prol. xxxix. Appian. in Mithridat. p. 251.

weary of their king Alexander, took up arms and expelled him, and called in Ptolemy Auletes. He was a bastard of Lathyrus, who never had a legitimate son. He was surnamed *Auletes*, that is to say, "the player upon the flute," because he valued himself so much upon playing well upon that instrument, that he disputed the prize of it in the public games. Alexander, being driven out in this manner, went to Pompey, who was then in the neighbourhood, to demand aid of him: Pompey would not interfere in his affairs, because they were foreign to his commission. That prince retired to Tyre, to wait there a more favourable conjuncture.

But none offered, and he died there some time after. Before his death, he made a will, by which he declared the Roman people his heirs. The succession was important, and included all the dominions Alexander had possessed, and to which he had retained a lawful right, of which the violence he had sustained could not deprive him. The affair was taken into consideration by the senate.[y] Some were of opinion that it was necessary to take possession of Egypt, and of the island of Cyprus, of which the testator had been sovereign, and which he had bequeathed in favour of the Roman people. The majority of the senators did not approve this advice. They had very lately taken possession of Bithynia, which had been left them by the will of Nicomedes; and of Cyrenaica and Libya, which had been also given them by that of Apion; and they had reduced all those countries into Roman provinces. They were afraid, that if they also accepted Egypt and the isle of Cyprus in virtue of a like donation, that their facility in accumulating provinces upon provinces, might alienate men's minds from them, and indicate and express too clearly a fixed design to engross in the same manner all other states. They

[y] Cicer. Orat. ii. in Rullum. n. 41—43.

believed, besides, that this enterprise might involve them in another war, which would embarrass them very much, whilst they had that with Mithridates upon their hands. So that they contented themselves for the present with causing all the effects which Alexander had at his death to be brought from Tyre, and did not meddle with the rest of his estates. This proceeding sufficiently implied, that they did not renounce the will, as the sequel will fully explain.

This is the fourth example of dominions left to the Roman people by will; a very singular custom, and almost unheard-of in all other history, which undoubtedly does great honour to those in whose favour it was established. The usual methods of extending the bounds of a state, are war, victory, and conquest. But with what enormous injustice and violence are those methods attended, and how much devastation and blood must it cost to subject a country by force of arms? In this there is nothing cruel and inhuman, and neither tears nor blood are shed. It is a pacific and legitimate increase of power, the simple acceptance of a voluntary gift. Subjection here has nothing of violence to enforce it, and proceeds from the heart.

There is another sort of violence, which has neither the name nor appearance of being so, but it is no less dangerous on that account; I mean seduction: when, to obtain the suffrages of a people, undermining arts, indirect means, secret artifices, and great donations of money are employed to corrupt the fidelity of the persons of the highest credit and authority in states and kingdoms, and events are influenced, in which the principal agents act at a distance, and do not seem to have any share. In this we now speak of, there was no visible trace of a policy so common with princes, and which, so far from making any scruple of it, they imagine for their glory.

Attalus, who was the first, if I am not mistaken, that appointed the Roman people his heirs, had not engaged in any strict union with that republic during the short time he reigned. As for Ptolemy Apion, king of Cyrenaica, the Romans, far from using any arts to attain the succession to his dominions, renounced it, left the people in the full enjoyment of their liberty, and would not accept the inheritance afterwards, till they were in some measure obliged to it against their will. It does not appear that they employed any solicitations, either public or private, towards Nicomedes king of Bithynia, or Ptolemy Alexander king of Egypt.

What motives then induced these princes to act in this manner? First, gratitude: the house of Attalus was indebted for all its splendour to the Romans; Nicomedes had been defended by them against Mithridates: and next, love for their people, the desire of procuring a lasting tranquillity for them, and the idea they entertained of the wisdom, justice, and moderation of the Roman people. They died without children or lawful successors; for bastards were not looked upon as such. They had only in view the future divisions and civil wars that might arise about the choice of a king, of which Egypt and Syria supplied them with dreadful examples. They saw with their own eyes the tranquillity and happiness enjoyed by many cities and nations under the shelter and protection of the Roman people.

A prince, in the situation of which we speak, had but three things to choose: either to leave his throne to the ambition of the grandees of his kingdom; to restore to his subjects their entire liberty, by instituting republican government; or to give his kingdom to the Romans.

The first choice undoubtedly exposed the kingdom to all the horrors of a civil war, which the factions and jealousies of the great would not fail to excite, and continue with heat and fury: and the

prince's love for his subjects induced him to spare them misfortunes as fatal as they would be inevitable.

The execution of the second choice was impracticable. There are many nations, whose genius, manners, characters, and habit of living, do not admit their being formed into republics. They are not capable of that uniform equality, that dependence upon mute laws, which do not make an impression on their senses. They are made for monarchy; and every other kind of government is incompatible with the natural frame of their minds. Cyrenaica, which has a share in the present question, is a proof of this; and all ages and climates supply us with examples of the same kind.

A prince therefore, at his death, could not do more wisely than to leave his subjects the alliance and protection of a people, feared and respected by the whole universe, and therefore capable of defending them from the unjust and violent attempts of their neighbours. How many civil divisions, and bloody discords, did he spare them by this kind of testamentary disposition? This appears from the example of Cyrenaica. The Romans, out of a noble disinterestedness, having refused the legacy which the king had bequeathed to them at his death, that unhappy kingdom, abandoned to liberty and its own will, gives itself up to cabals and intrigues. Torn by a thousand factions, exasperated almost to madness against each other, and, in a word, become like a ship without a pilot in the midst of the most violent storms, it suffered many years the most incredible calamities; the only remedy of which was to pray, and in some manner to force, the Romans to vouchsafe to take the government of it upon themselves.

Besides this, a prince by such conduct did no more than prevent, and that advantageously for his people, what must necessarily have happened sooner or later. Was there any city or state capable of making head against the Romans? Could it be expected, that a kingdom, especially when the royal

family was extinct, could support itself, and its independence, long against them? There was an inevitable necessity, therefore, for its falling into the hands of that people; and for that reason it was highly consistent with prudence to soften the yoke by a voluntary subjection. For they made a great difference between those nations who submitted to them freely, as to friends and protectors, and those who only yielded to them out of force, after a long and obstinate resistance, and being compelled, by reiterated defeats, to give way at last to a conqueror. We have seen with what severity the Macedonians, at least the principal persons of the nation, and after them the Achæans, were treated; especially during the first years of their subjection.

The other nations suffered nothing of that kind; and, generally speaking, of all foreign yokes none ever was lighter than that of the Romans. Scarce could its weight be perceived by those who bore it. The subjection of Greece to the Roman empire, even under the emperors themselves, was rather a means to ensure the public tranquillity, than a servitude heavy upon private persons, and prejudicial to society. Most of the cities were governed by their ancient laws, had always their own magistrates, and wanted very little of enjoying entire liberty. They were by that means secured from all the inconveniences and misfortunes of war with their neighbours, which had so long and so cruelly distressed the republic of Greece in the times of their ancestors. So that the Greeks seemed to be great gainers in ransoming themselves from these inconveniences by some diminution of their liberty.

It is true, the provinces sometimes suffered very much from the avarice of their governors. But those were only transient evils, which had no long effects, and to which the goodness and justice of a worthy successor applied a speedy redress; and which, after all, were not comparable to the disorders with which the wars of the Athenians, Thebans, and Lacedæ-

monians, against each other, were attended; and still less to the violences and ravages occasioned in many cities and states, by the insatiable avarice and barbarous cruelty of tyrants.

An evident proof of the wisdom of the plan adopted by princes, of leaving their dominions to the Romans after their death, is, that their people never exclaimed against that disposition, nor proceeded to any revolt of their own accord, to prevent its taking effect.

I do not pretend to exculpate the Romans entirely in this place, nor to justify their conduct in all things. I have sufficiently animadverted upon the interested views and political motives which influenced their actions. I only say, that the Roman government, especially with regard to those who submitted voluntarily to them, was gentle, humane, equitable, advantageous to the people, and the source of their peace and tranquillity. There were indeed some individual oppressors, who made the Roman people authorize the most flagrant injustice, of which we shall soon see an example: but there was always in that republic a considerable number of citizens, zealous for the public good, who rose up against those violences, and declared loudly for justice. This, however was not the case in the affair of Cyprus, which it is now time to relate.

[z] Clodius, who commanded a small fleet near Cilicia, was defeated and taken prisoner by the pirates of that coast, against whom he had been sent. He caused Ptolemy king of Cyprus, brother of Ptolemy Auletes, to be desired in his name to send him money to pay his ransom. That prince, who was a kind of prodigy in point of avarice, sent him only two talents. The pirates chose rather to release Clodius without ransom, than to take so small a one.

His thoughts were bent upon being revenged on that king as soon as possible. He had found means to get himself elected tribune of the people; an A. M. 3946. Ant. J. C. 58.

[z] Strab. l. xiv. p. 684.

important office, which gave him great power. Clodius made use of it for the destruction of his enemy. He pretended that that prince had no right to the kingdom of Cyprus, which had been left to the Roman people by the will of Alexander, who died at Tyre. It was determined, in consequence, that the kingdom of Egypt, and that of Cyprus, which depended on it, appertained to the Romans in virtue of that donation; and Clodius accordingly obtained an order of the people to seize the kingdom of Cyprus, to depose Ptolemy, and to confiscate all his effects. To put so unjust an order in execution, he had sufficient influence and address to cause the justest of all the Romans to be elected, I mean Cato, whom he *removed from the republic, under the pretext of so honourable a commission, that he might not find in him an obstacle to the violent and criminal designs which he was meditating. Cato was therefore sent into the isle of Cyprus, to deprive a prince of his kingdom, who well deserved that disgrace, says an historian, for his many irregularities; as if a man's vices sufficiently authorized the seizure of all his property.

Cato,[a] upon his arrival at Rhodes, sent to bid Ptolemy retire peaceably; and promised him, if he complied, to procure him the high-priesthood of the temple of Venus at Paphos, the revenues of which were sufficiently considerable to enable him to subsist honourably. Ptolemy rejected that proposal. He was not, however, in a condition to defend himself against the power of the Romans; but could not resolve, after having worn a crown so long, to live as a private person. Determined therefore to end his life and reign together, he embarked with all his treasures, and put to sea. His design was to have

[a] Plut. in Cato. p. 776.

* *P. Clodius in senatu sub honorificentissimo titulo M. Catonem à rep. relegavit. Quippe legem tulit, ut is—mitteretur in insulam Cyprum, ad spoliandum regno Ptolemæum, omnibus morum vitiis eam contumeliam meritum.* Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 45.

holes bored in the bottom of his ship, that it might sink with him and all his riches. But when he came to the execution of his purpose, though he persisted constantly in the resolution of dying himself, he had not courage to include his innocent and well-beloved treasures in his ruin; and thereby * showed that he loved them better than he did himself:—king of Cyprus indeed in title, but in fact, the mean slave of his money. He returned to shore, and replaced his gold in his magazines, after which he poisoned himself, and left the whole to his enemies. Cato carried those treasures the following year to Rome. The sum was so large, that in the greatest triumphs the like had scarce ever been laid up in the public treasury. Plutarch makes it amount to almost seven thousand talents (one million and fifty thousand pounds sterling). Cato caused all Ptolemy's precious effects and furniture to be sold publicly; reserving to himself only a picture of Zeno, the founder of the Stoics, the sentiments of which sect he followed.

The Roman people here throw off the mask, and show themselves not such as they had been in the glorious ages of the republic, full of contempt for riches and of esteem for poverty, but such as they were become, after that gold and silver had entered Rome in triumph with their victorious generals. Never was any thing more capable of disgracing and reproaching the Romans than this last action. † "The "Roman people," says Cicero, "instead of making

* *Procul dubio hic non possedit divitias, sed a divitiis possessus est; titulo rex insulæ, animo pecuniæ miserabile mancipium.* Val. Max.

† *Ptolemæus rex, si nondum socius, at non hostis, pacatus, quietus, fretus imperio populi Rom., regno paterno atque avito, regali otiò perfruebatur. De hoc nihil cogitante, nihil suspicante, est rogatum, ut sedens cum purpurâ et sceptro et illis insignibus regiis, præconi publico subjiceretur, et imperante populo Rom., qui etiam victis bello regibus regna reddere consuevit, rex amicus, nullâ injuriâ commemoratâ, nullis repetitis rebus, cum bonis omnibus publicaretur——Cyprius miser, qui semper socius, semper amicus*

" it their honour and almost a duty, as formerly, to " re-establish the kings their enemies whom they had " conquered, upon their thrones, now see a king, " their ally, or at least a constant friend to the re- " public, who had never done them any wrong, of " whom neither the senate nor any of our generals " had ever received the least complaint, who enjoy- " ed the dominions left him by his ancestors in tran- " quillity, plundered on a sudden without any for- " mality, and all his effects sold by auction almost " before his eyes, by order of the same Roman peo- " ple. This," continues Cicero, " shows other kings, " upon what they are to rely for their security: from " this fatal example they learn, that amongst us, " there needs only the secret intrigue of some sedi- " tious tribune, to deprive them of their thrones, and " to plunder them at the same time of all their for- " tunes."

What I am most amazed at is, that Cato, the justest and most upright man of those times, (but what was the most shining virtue and justice of the Pagans!) should lend his name and service in so notorious an injustice. Cicero, who had reasons for sparing him, and dared not blame his conduct openly, shows, however, in the same Oration which I have now cited, but in an artful and delicate manner, and under the appearance of excusing him, how much he had dishonoured himself by that action.

During Cato's stay at Rhodes, Ptolemy Auletes, king of Egypt, and brother to him of Cyprus, came thither to him. I reserve for a following book the history of that prince, which merits particular attention.

fuit; de quo nulla unquam suspicio durior aut ad senatum, aut ad imperatores nostros allata est: vivus (ut aiunt) est et videns, cum victu et vestitu suo, publicatus. En cur cæteri reges stabilem esse suam fortunam arbitrentur, cùm hoc illius funesti anni perdito exemplo videant, per tribunum aliquem se fortunis spoliari (posse) et regno omni nudari. Cic. Orat. pro Sextio. n. 57.

BOOK THE TWENTY-FIRST.

THE HISTORY

OF

ALEXANDER'S SUCCESSORS

CONTINUED.

THE twenty-first Book is divided into three articles, which are all abridgments: the first, of the history of the Jews, from the reign of Aristobulus to that of Herod the Great; the second, of the history of the Parthians, from the establishment of that empire to the defeat of Crassus; the third, of the history of the kings of Cappadocia, to the annexing of that kingdom to the Roman empire.

ARTICLE I.

Abridgment of the History of the Jews, from Aristobulus, son of Hyrcanus, who first assumed the title of king, to the reign of Herod the Great, the Idumæan.

As the history of the Jews is often intermixed with that of the kings of Syria and Egypt, I have taken care, as occasion offered, to relate those circumstan-

ces of it which were most necessary and suitable to my subject. I shall add here what remains of that history, to the reign of Herod the Great. The historian Josephus, who is in every one's hands, will satisfy the laudable curiosity of such as are desirous of being more fully informed. Dean Prideaux, of whom I have here made much use, may be also consulted for the same purpose.

SECT. I. *Reign of Aristobulus the First, which lasted two years.*

A.M. 3898. Ant. J.C. 106. [b] HYRCANUS, high-priest and prince of the Jews, had left five sons at his death. The first was Aristobulus, the second Antigonus, the third Alexander Jannæus, the fourth's name is unknown. The fifth was called Absalom.

Aristobulus, as the eldest, succeeded his father in the high-priesthood and temporal sovereignty. As soon as he saw himself well established, he assumed the diadem and title of king, which none of those who had governed Judæa since the Babylonish captivity had done besides himself. The circumstances of the times seemed favourable for that design. The kings of Syria and Egypt, who were alone capable of opposing it, were weak princes, involved in domestic troubles and civil wars, little secure upon the throne, and not maintaining themselves long in the possession of it. He knew that the Romans were much inclined to authorize the dismembering and dividing the dominions of the Grecian kings, in order to weaken and keep them low in comparison with themselves. Besides, it was natural for Aristobulus to take advantage of the victories and acquisitions made by his ancestors, who had given an assured and uninterrupted establishment to the Jewish nation, and enabled it to support the dignity of a king amongst its neighbours.

[b] Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 19, &c. Id. de Bell. Jud. i. 3.

Aristobulus's mother, in virtue of Hyrcanus's will, pretended to the government; but Aristobulus was the strongest, and put her in prison, where he caused her to be starved to death. With respect to his brothers, as he very much loved Antigonus the eldest of them, he gave him at first a share in the government. He confined the other three in prison, and kept them there during his life.

[c] When Aristobulus had fully possessed himself of the authority which his father had enjoyed, he entered into a war with the Ituræans; and after having subjected the greatest part of them, he obliged them to embrace Judaism, as Hyrcanus had compelled the Idumæans some years before. He gave them the alternative, either to be circumcised and profess the Jewish religion, or to quit their country and seek a settlement elsewhere. They chose to stay, and comply with what was required of them, and thus were incorporated with the Jews, both as to spirituals and temporals. This practice became a fundamental maxim with the Asmoneans. It shows, that they had not a just idea of religion at that time, which does not impose itself by force, and which ought not to be received but voluntarily and by persuasion. Ituræa, which was inhabited by the people in question, formed part of Cœle-syria, on the north-east frontier of Israel, between the inheritance of the half tribe of Manasseh on the other side of Jordan, and the territory of Damascus. A. M. 3898. Ant. J. C. 106.

A distemper obliged Aristobulus to return from Ituræa to Jerusalem, and to leave the command of the army to his brother Antigonus, to make an end of the war he had begun. The queen and her cabal, who envied Antigonus the king's favour, took advantage of this illness, to prejudice the king against him by false reports and vile calumnies. Antigonus soon returned to Jerusalem after the successes by which

[c] Joseph Antiq. xiii. 19. Id. de Bell. Jud. i. 3.

he had terminated the war. His entry was a kind of triumph. The feast of tabernacles was then celebrating. He went directly to the temple with his guards, completely armed as he had entered the city, without giving himself time to change any part of his equipage. This was imputed to him as a crime with the king; who, otherwise prejudiced against him, sent him orders to disarm himself, and come to him as soon as possible; conceiving, that if he refused to obey, it was a proof of some bad design; and in that case he gave orders that he should be killed. The person sent by Aristobulus, was gained by the queen and her cabal, and told him the order quite differently; that the king desired to see him completely armed as he was. Antigonus went directly to wait on him; and the guards who saw him come in his arms, obeyed their orders, and killed him.

Aristobulus, having discovered all that had passed, was keenly affected with it, and inconsolable for his death. Tormented with remorse of conscience for this murder, and that of his mother, he led a miserable life, and expired at last in anguish and despair.

SECT. II. *Reign of Alexander Jannæus, which continued twenty-seven years.*

A. M. 3899. Ant. J. C. 105. [d] SALOME, the wife of Aristobulus, immediately after his death, took the three princes out of the prison, into which they had been put by her husband. Alexander Jannæus, the eldest of the three, was crowned. He put his next brother to death, who had endeavoured to deprive him of the crown. As for the third, named Absalom, who was of a peaceable disposition, and who had no thoughts but of living in

[d] Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 20. Id. de Bell. Jud. i. 3.

tranquillity as a private person, he granted him his favour, and protected him during his whole life. [e] No more is said of him, than that he gave his daughter in marriage to Aristobulus the youngest son of his brother Alexander, and that he served him against the Romans at the siege of Jerusalem, in which he was made prisoner forty-two years after, when the temple was taken by Pompey.

Whilst all this was passing, the two kings of Syria, of whom Grypus reigned at Antioch, and Antiochus of Cyzicum at Damascus, made a cruel war upon each other, although they were brothers. Cleopatra, and Alexander the youngest of her sons, reigned in Egypt, and Ptolemy Lathyrus the eldest, in Cyprus.

Alexander Jannæus, some time after he returned to Jerusalem, and had taken possession of the throne, had set a strong army on foot, which passed the Jordan, and formed the siege of Gadara. At the end of ten months, having made himself master of that city, he took several other very strong places, situated also on the other side of the Jordan. But not being sufficiently upon his guard on his return, he was beaten by the enemy, and lost ten thousand men, with all the spoils he had taken, and his own baggage. He returned to Jerusalem in the highest affliction for this loss, and the shame with which it was attended. He had even the mortification to see, that many people, instead of lamenting his misfortune, took a malignant joy in it. For since the quarrel of Hyrcanus with the Pharisees, they had always been the enemies of his house, and especially of this Alexander. And as they had drawn almost the whole people into their party, they had so strongly prejudiced and inflamed them against him, that all the disorders and commotions with which his whole reign was embroiled, flowed from this source.

This loss, great as it was, did not prevent his A. M. 3904. Ant. J. C. 100.

[e] Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 8.

going to seize Raphia and Anthedon, when he saw the coast of Gaza without defence, after the departure of Lathyrus.

Those two posts, which were only a few miles from Gaza, kept it in a manner blocked up, which was what he proposed when he attacked them. He had never forgiven the inhabitants of Gaza for calling in Lathyrus against him, and giving him troops, which had contributed to his gaining the fatal battle of the Jordan; and he earnestly sought all occasions to avenge himself upon them.

A. M. 3906. Ant. J. C. 98. As soon as his affairs would permit, he came with a numerous army to besiege their city. Apollodorus, the governor of it, defended the place a whole year with a valour and prudence that acquired him great reputation. His own brother Lysimachus could not see his glory without envy; and that base passion induced him to assassinate the governor. That wretch afterwards associated with some others as abandoned as himself, and surrendered the city to Alexander. Upon his entrance, it was thought by his behaviour and the orders which he gave, that he intended to use his victory with clemency and moderation. But as soon as he saw himself master of all the posts, and that there was nothing to oppose him, he let loose his soldiers with permission to kill, plunder, and destroy; and immediately all the barbarity that could be imagined was exercised upon that unfortunate city. The pleasure of revenge cost him very dear. For the inhabitants of Gaza defended themselves like men in despair, and killed almost as many of his people as they were themselves. But at length he satiated his brutal revenge, and reduced that ancient and famous city to a heap of ruins; after which he returned to Jerusalem. This war employed him a year.

A. M. 3907. Ant. J. C. 97.

A. M. 3909. Ant. J. C. 95. Some time after the people affronted him in the most heinous manner.[f] At the feast of tabernacles, whilst he was in the temple, offering the solemn

[f] Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 21.

sacrifice, in quality of high-priest, upon the altar of burnt-offerings, they threw lemons at his head, calling him a thousand injurious names, and amongst the rest giving him that of "Slave;" a reproach which sufficiently argued, that they looked upon him as unworthy of the crown and pontificate. This was a consequence of what Eleazar had presumed to advance; that the mother of Hyrcanus had been a captive. These indignities enraged Alexander to such a degree, that he attacked those insolent people in person, at the head of his guards, and killed six thousand of them. Seeing how much the Jews were disaffected towards him, he was afraid to trust his person any longer to them, and used foreign troops for his guard, whom he caused to come from Pisidia and Cilicia. Of these he formed a body of six thousand men, who attended him every where.

When Alexander saw the storm which had been raised against him a little appeased by the terror of the revenge he had taken for it, he turned his arms against the enemy abroad. After having obtained some advantages over them, he fell into an ambuscade, wherein he lost the greatest part of his army, and escaped himself with great difficulty. At his return to Jerusalem, the Jews, incensed at this defeat, revolted against him. They flattered themselves, that they should find him so much weakened and dejected by his late loss, that they should experience no difficulty in completing his destruction, which they had so long desired. Alexander, who wanted neither application nor valour, and who besides had a more than common capacity, soon found troops to oppose them. A civil war ensued between him and his subjects, which continued six years, and occasioned great misfortunes to both parties. The rebels were beaten and defeated upon many occasions. A. M. 3910. Ant. J. C. 94. A. M. 3912. Ant. J. C. 92.

Alexander, having taken a city wherein many of them had shut themselves up, carried eight hundred of them to Jerusalem, and caused them all to be crucified in one day. When they were fixed to the cross, A. M. 3918. Ant. J. C. 86.

he ordered their wives and children to be brought out, and to have their throats cut before their faces. During this cruel execution, the king regaled his wives and concubines in a place from whence they saw all that passed; and this sight was to him and them the principal part of the entertainment. Horrid gratification! This civil war, during the six years that it lasted, had cost the lives of more than fifty thousand men on the side of the rebels.

Alexander, after having put an end to it, undertook many other foreign expeditions with very great success. Upon his return to Jerusalem, he abandoned himself to intemperance and excess of wine, which brought a quartan ague upon him, of which he died at the end of three years, after having reigned twenty-seven.

A. M. 3925. Ant. J. C. 79. He left two sons, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus; but he decreed by his will, that Alexandra his wife should govern the kingdom during her life, and choose which of her sons she thought fit to succeed her.

SECT. III. *Reign of Alexandra, the wife of Alexander Jannæus, which continued nine years. Hyrcanus her eldest son is high-priest during that time.*

A. M. 3926. Ant. J. C. 78. [s] ACCORDING to the advice of her husband, Alexandra submitted herself and her children to the power of the Pharisees, declaring to them, that in doing so, she acted only in conformity to the last will of her husband.

By this step she so well conciliated them, that, forgetting their hatred for the dead, though they had carried it during his life as far as possible, they changed it on a sudden into respect and veneration

[s] Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 23, 24. & de Bell. Jud. i. 4.

for his memory; and instead of the invectives and reproaches which they had always abundantly vented against him, nothing was heard but praises and panegyrics, wherein they exalted immoderately the great actions of Alexander, by which the nation had been aggrandized, and its power, honour, and credit, much augmented. By this means they brought over the people so effectually, whom till then they had always irritated against him, that they celebrated his funeral with greater pomp and magnificence than that of any of his predecessors; and Alexandra, according to the intent of his will, was confirmed sovereign administratrix of the nation. We see from hence, that a blind and unlimited conformity to the power and will of the Pharisees was with them a substitute for every kind of merit, and made all failings, and even crimes, disappear as effectually as if they had never been; which is very common with those who are fond of ruling.

When that princess saw herself well established, she caused her eldest son Hyrcanus to be received as high-priest: he was then near thirty-three years of age. According to her promise, she gave the administration of all important affairs to the Pharisees. The first thing they did was to repeal the decree, by which John Hyrcanus, father of the two last kings, had abolished all their traditional constitutions, which were afterwards more generally received than ever. They persecuted with great cruelty all those who had declared themselves their enemies in the preceding reigns, without the queen's being able to prevent them; because she had tied up her own hands, by putting herself into those of the Pharisees. She had seen in her husband's time what a civil war was, and the infinite misfortunes with which it is attended. She was afraid of kindling a new one; and not knowing any other means to prevent it, than by giving way to the violence of those revengeful and inexorable men, she believed it necessary to suffer a less evil, in order to prevent a greater.

What we have said upon this head may contribute very much to our having a right notion of the state of the Jewish nation, and of the characters of those who governed it.

A. M. 3931. Ant. J. C. 73. [h] The Pharisees still continued their persecutions against those who had opposed them under the late king. They made them accountable for all the cruelties and faults with which they thought proper to blacken his memory. They had already got rid of many of their enemies under this pretext, and invented every day new articles of accusation to destroy those who gave them most umbrage amongst such as still survived.

The friends and partisans of the late king, seeing that there was no end to these persecutions, and that their destruction was sworn, assembled at last, and came in a body to wait on the queen, with Aristobulus, her second son, at their head. They represented to her the services they had done the late king; their fidelity and attachment to him in all his wars, and all the difficulties in which he had been involved during the troubles. That it was very hard at present, that under her government, every thing they had done for him should be made criminal, and they should see themselves sacrificed to the implacable hatred of their enemies, solely for their adherence to herself and her family. They implored her either to put a stop to such sort of enquiries; or, if that was not in her power, to permit them to retire out of the country, in order to seek an asylum elsewhere: at least they begged her to put them into garrisoned places, where they might find some security against the violence of their enemies.

The queen was as much affected as it was possible to be with the condition she saw them in, and the injustice done them. But it was out of her power to do for them all she desired; for she had given herself masters, by engaging to take no steps without the consent of the Pharisees. How dangerous

[h] Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 24. & de Bell. Jud. i. 4.

is it to invest such people with too much authority! They exclaimed, that it would be putting a stop to the course of justice, to suspend the enquiries after the culpable; that such a proceeding was what no government ought to suffer, and that therefore they never would accede to it. On the other side, the queen believed that she ought not to give her consent, that the real and faithful friends of her family should abandon their country in such a manner; because she would then lie at the mercy of a turbulent faction, without any support, and would have no resource in case of necessity. She resolved therefore upon the third point they had proposed to her, and dispersed them into places where she had garrisons. She found two advantages resulting from that conduct: the first was, that their enemies dared not attack them in those fortresses, where they would have arms in their hands; and the second, that they would always be a body of reserve, upon which she could rely upon occasion in case of any rupture.

Some years after, queen Alexandra fell sick of a very dangerous distemper, which brought her to the point of death. As soon as Aristobulus, her youngest son, saw that she could not recover, as he had long formed the design of seizing the crown at her death, he stole out of Jerusalem in the night, with only one domestic, and went to the places, in which, according to a plan he had given them, the friends of his father had been placed in garrison. He was received there with open arms, and in fifteen days' time twenty-two of those towns and castles declared for him, which put him in possession of almost all the forces of the state. The people as well as the army were entirely inclined to declare for him, being weary of the cruel administration of the Pharisees, who had governed without control under Alexandra, and were become insupportable to every one. They came therefore in crowds from all quarters to follow the standards of Aristobulus; in hopes that he would abolish the tyranny of the Pharisees, which could

A. M. 3934. Ant. J. C. 70.

not be expected from Hyrcanus his elder brother, who had been brought up by his mother in a blind submission to that sect: besides which, he had neither the courage nor capacity necessary for so vigorous a design; for he was heavy and indolent, void of activity and application, and of a very mean capacity.

When the Pharisees saw that Aristobulus's party augmented considerably, they went with Hyrcanus at their head to represent to the dying queen what was going forward, and to demand her orders and assistance. She answered, that she was no longer in a condition to intermeddle in such affairs, and that she left the care of them to the Pharisees. However, she appointed Hyrcanus her heir, and expired soon after.

As soon as she was dead, he took possession of the throne, and the Pharisees used all their endeavours to support him upon it. When Aristobulus quitted Jerusalem, they had caused his wife and children, whom he had left behind him, to be shut up in the castle of * Baris, as hostages against himself. [1] But seeing this did not stop him, they raised an army. Aristobulus did the same. A battle near Jericho decided the quarrel. Hyrcanus, abandoned by most part of his troops, who went over to his brother, was obliged to fly to Jerusalem, and to shut himself up in the castle of Baris; his partizans took refuge in the temple. A short time after they also submitted to Aristobulus, and Hyrcanus was obliged to come to an accommodation with him.

SECT. IV. *Reign of Aristobulus II., which continued six years.*

A. M. 3935. Ant. J. C. 69. IT was agreed by this accommodation, that Aristobulus should have the crown and high-priesthood,

[1] Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 1. & de Bell. Jud. i. 4.

* Baris was a castle situate upon a high rock without the works of the temple, which were upon the same rock.

and that Hyrcanus should resign both to him, and content himself with a private life, under the protection of his brother, and with the enjoyment of his fortune. It was not difficult to reconcile him to this; for he loved quiet and ease above all things. Thus he quitted the government, after having possessed it three months. The tyranny of the Pharisees ended with his reign, after having greatly distressed the Jewish nation from the time of the death of Alexander Jannæus.

The troubles of the state were not so soon appeased: these were occasioned by the ambition of Antipas, better known under the name of Antipater, father of Herod. He was by extraction an Idumæan, and a Jew by religion, as were all the Idumæans, from the time that Hyrcanus had obliged them to embrace Judaism. As he had been brought up in the court of Alexander Jannæus, and of Alexandra his wife, who reigned after him, he had gained an ascendant over Hyrcanus their elder son, with the hope of raising himself by his favour, when he should succeed to the crown. [k] But when he saw all his measures defeated by the deposition of Hyrcanus, and the coronation of Aristobulus, from whom he had nothing to expect, he employed his whole address and application to replace Hyrcanus upon the throne. A. M. 3939. Ant. J. C. 65.

The latter, by his secret negociations, had at first applied to Aretas, king of Arabia Petrea, for aid to re-instate himself. After various events, which I pass over to avoid prolixity, he had recourse to Pompey, who, on his return from his expedition against Mithridates, was arrived in Syria.[l] He there took cognizance of the competition between Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, who repaired thither according to his orders. A great number of Jews went thither also, to request that he would free them from the government of both the one and the other. They re-

[k] Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 2—8. & de Bell. Jud. i. 5.
[l] Id. Antiq. xiv. 5. Id de Bell. Jud. i. 5.

presented that they ought not to be ruled by kings: that they had long been accustomed to obey only the high-priest, who without any other title, administered justice according to the laws and constitutions transmitted down to them from their forefathers: that the two brothers were indeed of the sacerdotal line; but that they had changed the form of the government for a new one, which would enslave them, if not remedied.

Hyrcanus complained, that Aristobulus had unjustly deprived him of his birth-right, by usurping every thing, and leaving him only a small estate for his subsistence. He accused him also of practising piracy at sea, and of plundering his neighbours by land. And to confirm what he alleged against him, he produced almost a thousand Jews, the principal men of the nation, whom Antipater had brought expressly, to support by their testimony what that prince had to say against his brother.

Aristobulus replied to this, That Hyrcanus had been deposed only for his incapacity: that his sloth and indolence rendered him entirely incapable of the management of public affairs; that the people despised him; and that he (Aristobulus) had been obliged to take the reins of the government into his own hands, to prevent them from falling into those of strangers. In fine, that he bore no other title than what his father Alexander had done before him. And in proof of what he advanced, he produced a great number of the young nobility of the country, who appeared with all possible splendour and magnificence. Their superb habits, haughty manners, and proud demeanour, did no great service to his cause.

Pompey heard enough to discern that the conduct of Aristobulus was violent and unjust; but would not, however, pronounce immediately upon it, lest Aristobulus, out of resentment, should oppose his designs against Arabia, which he had much at heart: he therefore politely dismissed the two brothers; and told them, that at his return from reducing

Aretas and his Arabians, he should pass through Judæa, and that he would then regulate their affair, and settle every thing.

Aristobulus, who fully penetrated Pompey's sentiments, set out suddenly for Damascus, without paying him the least instance of respect, returned into Judæa, armed his subjects, and prepared for a vigorous defence. By this conduct, he made Pompey his mortal enemy.

Pompey applied himself also in making preparations for the Arabian war. Aretas till then had despised the Roman arms; but when he saw them at his door, and that victorious army ready to enter his dominions, he sent an embassy to make his submission. Pompey, however, advanced as far as Petra, his capital, of which he made himself master. Aretas was taken in it. Pompey at first kept him under a guard, but at length he was released upon accepting the conditions imposed on him by the victor, who soon after returned to Damascus.

He was not apprised till then of Aristobulus's proceedings in Judæa. He marched thither with his army, and found Aristobulus posted in the castle of Alexandrion, which stood upon a high mountain at the entrance of the country. This was an extremely strong place, built by his father Alexander, who had given his name to it. Pompey sent to bid him come down to him. Aristobulus was not much inclined to comply, but he at last acceded to the opinion of those about him, who, dreading a war with the Romans, advised him to go. He did so; and after a conversation which turned upon his difference with his brother, he returned into his castle. He repeated the same visit two or three times, in hopes by that civility to gain upon Pompey, and induce him to decide in his favour. But for fear of accident, he did not omit to put good garrisons into his strong places, and to make all other preparations for a vigorous defence, in case Pompey should decide against him. Pompey, who had advice of his proceedings, the last time he came to him, obliged him

to put them all into his hands, by way of sequestration, and made him sign orders for that purpose to all the commanders of those places.

Aristobulus, incensed at the violence which had been offered him, as soon as he was released, made all haste to Jerusalem, and prepared every thing for the war. His resolutions to keep the crown, made him the sport of two different passions, hope and fear. When he saw the least appearance that Pompey would decide in his favour, he made use of all the arts of complaisance to incline him to it. When, on the contrary, he had the least reason to suspect that he would declare against him, he observed a directly opposite conduct. This was the cause of the contrariety visible in the different steps he took throughout this affair.

Pompey followed him close. The first place where he encamped in his way to Jerusalem, was Jericho; there he received the news of Mithridates's death, as we shall see in the following book.

He continued his march towards Jerusalem. When he approached, Aristobulus, who began to repent of what he had done, came out to meet him, and endeavoured to bring him to an accommodation, by promising an entire submission, and a great sum of money to prevent the war. Pompey accepted his offers, and sent Gabinius, at the head of a detachment, to receive the money: but when that lieutenant-general arrived at Jerusalem, he found the gates shut against him; and, instead of receiving the money, he was told from the top of the walls, that the city would not stand to the agreement. Pompey thereupon, not being willing that they should deceive him with impunity, ordered Aristobulus, whom he had kept with him, to be put in irons, and advanced with his whole army against Jerusalem. The city was extremely strong by its situation and the works which had been made; and had it not been for the dissensions that prevailed within it, was capable of making a long defence.

Aristobulus's party was for defending the place;

especially when they saw that Pompey kept their king prisoner. But the adherents of Hyrcanus were determined to open the gates to that general. And as the latter were much the greater number, the other party retired to the mountain of the temple, to defend it, and caused the bridges of the ditch and valley which surrounded it, to be broken down. Pompey, to whom the city immediately opened its gates, resolved to besiege the temple. The place held out three whole months, and would have done so three more, and perhaps obliged the Romans to abandon their enterprise, but for the superstitious rigour with which the besieged observed the sabbath. They believed, indeed, that they might defend themselves when attacked, but not that they might prevent the works of the enemy, or make any for themselves. The Romans knew how to take advantage of this inaction upon the sabbath-days. They did not attack the Jews upon them, but filled up the fosses, made their approaches, and fixed their engines without opposition. They threw down at length a great tower, which carried along with it so great a part of the wall, that the breach was large enough for an assault. The place was carried sword in hand, and a terrible slaughter ensued, in which more than twelve thousand persons were killed.

During the whole tumult, the cries, and disorder of this slaughter, history observes that the priests, who were, at that time employed in divine service, continued it with surprising calmness, notwithstanding the rage of their enemies, and their grief to see their friends and relations massacred before their eyes. Many of them saw their own blood mingle with that of the sacrifices they were offering, and the sword of the enemy make themselves the victims of their duty: happy, and worthy of being envied, if they had been as faithful to the spirit as the letter of it!

Pompey, with many of his superior officers, entered the temple, and not only into the sanctuary, but into the holy of holies, into which, by the law, the

high-priest alone was permitted to enter once a year, upon the solemn day of expiation. This was what most keenly afflicted the Jews, and enraged that people so bitterly against the Romans.

Pompey did not touch the treasures of the temple, which consisted principally in sums that had been deposited there by private families for their better security. Those sums amounted to two thousand *talents in specie, without reckoning the gold and silver vessels, which were innumerable, and of infinite value. † It was not, says Cicero, out of respect for the majesty of the GOD adored in that temple, that Pompey behaved in this manner; for, according to him, nothing was more contemptible than the Jewish religion, more unworthy the wisdom and grandeur of the Romans, nor more opposite to the institutions of their ancestors. Pompey in this noble disinterestedness had no other motive, than to deprive malice and calumny of all means of attacking his reputation. Such were the thoughts of the most learned of the Pagans, with respect to the only religion of the true GOD. They blasphemed what they knew not.

It hath been observed, that till then Pompey had been successful in all things, but that after this sacrilegious curiosity, his good fortune abandoned him, and that the advantage gained over the Jews, was his last victory.

* Three hundred thousand pounds sterling.

† *Cn. Pompeius, captis Hierosolymis, victor ex illo fano nihil attigit. In primis hoc, ut multa alia, sapienter, quòd in tam suspiciosâ ac maledicâ civitate locum sermoni obtrectatorum non reliquit. Non enim credo religionem et Judæorum et hostium impedimento præstantissimo imperatori, sed pudorem fuisse—istorum religio sacrorum à splendore hujus imperii, gravitate nominis vestri, majorum institutis abhorrebat.* Cic. pro Flac. n. 67—69.

SECT. V. *Reign of Hyrcanus II., which continued twenty-four years.*

POMPEY having thus put an end to the war, caused the walls of Jerusalem to be demolished, re-established Hyrcanus, and sent Aristobulus, with his two sons, Alexander and Antigonus, prisoners to Rome. He dismembered several cities from the kingdom of Judæa, which he united with the government of Syria, imposed a tribute upon Hyrcanus, and left the administration of affairs to Antipater, who was at the court of Hyrcanus, and one of his principal ministers. Alexander made his escape upon the way to Rome, and returned into Judæa, where he afterwards excited new troubles. A. M. 3941. Ant. J. C. 63.

Hyrcanus finding himself too weak to take the field against him, had recourse to the arms of the Romans. Gabinius, governor of Syria, after having overthrown Alexander in a battle, went to Jerusalem, and reinstated Hyrcanus in the high-priesthood.[m] He made great alterations in the civil government; for instead of monarchical, as it had been, he changed it into aristocratical; but those innovations were but of short duration. A. M. 3947. Ant. J. C. 57.

Crassus, upon his march against the Parthians, always intent upon gratifying his insatiable avarice, stopped at Jerusalem, where he had been told great treasures were laid up. He plundered the temple of all the riches in it, which amounted to the sum of ten thousand talents; that is to say, about fifteen hundred thound pounds sterling. A. M. 3950. Ant. J. C. 54.

Cæsar,[n] after his expedition into Egypt, being arrived in Syria, Antigonus, who had made his escape from Rome with his father Aristobulus, came to throw himself at his feet, begged him to re-establish him A. M. 3957. Ant. J. C. 47.

[m] Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 10. Id. de Bell. Jud. i. 6.
[n] Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 15. Id. de Bell. Jud. i. 8.

upon the throne of his father, who was lately dead, and made great complaints against Antipater and Hyrcanus. Cæsar had too great obligations to both, to do any thing contrary to their interests; for, as we shall see in the sequel, without the aid he had received from them, his expedition into Egypt would have miscarried. He decreed that Hyrcanus should retain the dignity of high-priest of Jerusalem, and the sovereignty of Judæa, to himself and his posterity after him for ever, and gave Antipater the office of procurator of Judæa under Hyrcanus. By this decree, the aristocracy of Gabinius was abolished, and the government of Judæa re-established upon the ancient footing.

Antipater caused the[o] government of Jerusalem to be given to Phasael his eldest son, and that of Galilee to Herod his second son.

A. M. 3960. Ant. J. C. 44. Cæsar[p] at Hyrcanus's request, and in consideration of the services he had rendered him in Egypt and Syria, permitted him to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem, which Pompey had caused to be demolished. Antipater, without losing time, began the work, and the city was soon fortified as it had been before the demolition. Cæsar was killed this same year.

During the civil wars, Judæa, as well as all the other provinces of the Roman empire, was agitated by violent troubles.

A. M. 3964. Ant. J. C. 40. Pacorus,[q] son of Orodes king of Parthia, had entered Syria with a powerful army. From thence he sent a detachment into Judæa, with orders to place Antigonus, the son of Aristobulus, upon the throne, who on his side had also raised troops. Hyrcanus, and Phasael, Herod's brother, upon the proposal of an accommodation, had the imprudence to go to the enemy, who seized them and put them in irons. Herod escaped from Jerusalem the moment before the Parthians entered it to seize him also.

[o] Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 17. de Bell. Jud. i. 8. [p] Id. Antiq. xiv. 17.
[q] Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 24, 26. Id. de Bell. Jud. i. 11.

Having missed Herod, they plundered the city and country, placed Antigonus upon the throne, and delivered Hyrcanus and Phasael in chains into his hands. Phasael, who well knew that his death was resolved, dashed out his brains against the wall of his prison, to avoid the hands of the executioner. As for Hyrcanus, his life was granted him; but to render him incapable of the priesthood, Antigonus caused his ears to be cut off: for according to the Levitical law,[r] it was requisite that the high-priest should be perfect in all his members. After having thus mutilated him, he gave him back to the Parthians, that they might carry him into the East, from whence it would not be possible for him to embroil affairs in Judæa. [s] He continued a prisoner at Seleucia in Babylonia, till the accession of Phraates to the crown, who caused his chains to be taken off, and gave him entire liberty to see and converse with the Jews of that country, who were very numerous. They looked upon him as their king and high-priest, and raised him a revenue sufficient to support his rank with splendour. The love of his native country made him forget all those advantages. He returned the year following to Jerusalem, whither Herod had invited him to come; but some years afterwards he caused him to be put to death.

Herod had at first taken refuge in Egypt, from whence he went to Rome. Antony was then in the high degree of power which the triumvirate had given him. He took Herod under his protection, and even did more in his favour than he expected. For instead of what he proposed, which was at most to obtain the crown for* Aristobulus, to whose sister Mariamne he had for some time been betrothed, with the view only of governing under him, as Antipater

[r] Levit. xxi. 16—24. [s] Joseph. Antiq. xv. 2.

* Aristobulus was the son of Alexandra, Hyrcanus's daughter; and his father was Alexander, son of Aristobulus, brother of Hyrcanus; so that the right of both brothers to the crown was united in his person.

had done under Hyrcanus; Antony caused the crown to be conferred upon him, contrary to the usual maxim of the Romans in like cases. For it was not their custom to violate the rights of the royal houses, which acknowledged them for protectors, and to give the crown to strangers. Herod was declared king of Judæa by the senate, and conducted by the consuls to the capitol, where he received the investiture of the crown, with the ceremonies usual upon such occasions.

Herod passed only seven days at Rome in negociating this great affair, and returned speedily into Judæa. He had employed no more time than three months in his journeys by sea and land.

SECT. VI. *Reign of Antigonus, of only two years' duration.*

A. M. 3965. Ant. J. C. 39. IT was not so easy for Herod to establish himself in the possession of the kingdom of Judæa, as it had been to obtain his title from the Romans. Antigonus was not at all inclined to resign a throne which had cost him so much pains and money to acquire. He disputed it with him very vigorously for almost two years.

A. M. 3966. Ant. J. C. 38. [t] Herod, who during the winter had made great preparations for the following campaign, opened it at length with the siege of Jerusalem, which he invested at the head of a fine and numerous army. Antony had given orders to Sosius, governor of Syria, to use his utmost endeavours to reduce Antigonus, and to put Herod into full possession of the kingdom of Judæa. Whilst the works necessary for the siege were carrying on, Herod made a tour to Samaria, and at length consummated his marriage with Mariamne. They had been contracted four years to each other: but the unforeseen troubles

[t] Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 27. Id. de Bell. Jud. i. 13.

which had befallen him, had prevented their consummating the marriage till then. She was the daughter of Alexander the son of king Aristobulus, and Alexandra the daughter of Hyrcanus the Second, and thereby grand-daughter to those two brothers. She was a princess of extraordinary beauty and virtue, and possessed in an eminent degree all the other qualities that adorn the sex. The attachment of the Jews to the Asmonæan family, made Herod imagine, that, by espousing her, he should find no difficulty in gaining their affection, which was one of his reasons for consummating his marriage at that time.

On his return to Jerusalem, Sosius and he, having joined their forces, pressed the siege in concert with the utmost vigour, and with a very numerous army, which amounted to at least sixty thousand men. The place, however, held out against them many months with exceeding resolution; and if the besieged had been as expert in the art of war and the defence of places, as they were brave and resolute, it would not perhaps have been taken. But the Romans, who were much better skilled in those things than they, carried the place at length, after a siege of something more than six months.

The Jews being driven from their posts, the enemy entered on all sides, and made themselves masters of the city. And to revenge the obstinate resistance they had made, and the fatigue they had suffered during so long and difficult a siege, they filled all quarters of Jerusalem with blood and slaughter, plundered and destroyed all before them, though Herod did his utmost to prevent both the one and the other. A. M. 3967. Ant. J. C. 37.

Antigonus, seeing all was lost, came and threw himself at the feet of Sosius in the most submissive and most abject manner. He was put in chains, and sent to Antony as soon as he arrived at Antioch. He designed at first to have reserved him for his triumph: but Herod, who did not think himself safe as long as that remnant of the royal family survived, would not let him rest till he had obtained the death of

that unfortunate prince, for which he even gave a large sum of money.[u] He was proceeded against in form, condemned to die, and had the sentence executed upon him in the same manner as common criminals, with the rods and axes of the lictor, and was fastened to a stake; a treatment with which the Romans had never used any crowned head before.

Thus ended the reign of the Asmonæans, after a duration of a hundred and twenty-nine years, reckoning from the beginning of the government of Judas Maccabæus. Herod entered by this means upon the peaceable possession of the kingdom of Judæa.

This singular, extraordinary, and, till then, unexampled event, by which the sovereign authority over the Jews was given to a stranger, an Idumæan, ought to have opened their eyes, and rendered them attentive to a celebrated prophecy, which had foretold it in clear terms; and had given it as the certain mark of another event, in which the whole nation was interested, which was the perpetual object of their vows and hopes, and distinguished them by a peculiar characteristic from all the other nations of the world, that had an equal interest in it, but without knowing or being apprised of it. This was the prophecy of Jacob, who at his death foretold to his twelve sons, assembled round his bed, what would happen in the series of time to the twelve tribes, of which they were the chiefs, and after whom they were called. Amongst the other predictions of that patriarch concerning the tribe of Judah, there is this of which we now speak: "The[x] sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a "law-giver from between his feet, until Shiloh come, "and unto him shall the gathering of the people be." The sceptre, or rod (for the Hebrew signifies both), implies here the authority and superiority over the other tribes.

All the ancient Jews have explained this prediction

[u] Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 27. Plut. in Anton. p. 932. Dion. Cass. l. xlix. p. 405. [x] Gen. xlix. 10.

to denote the Messiah: the fact is therefore incontestable, and is reduced to two essential points. The first is, that as long as the tribe of Judah shall subsist, it shall have pre-eminence and authority over the other tribes: the second, that it shall subsist, and form a body of a republic, governed by its laws and magistrates, till the Messiah comes.

The first point is verified in the series of the history of the Israelites, wherein that pre-eminence of the tribe of Judah appears evidently. This is not the proper place for proofs of this kind; those who would be more fully informed, may consult the explanation of Genesis lately published.*

For the second point, we have only to consider it with the least attention. When Herod, the Idumæan, and in consequence a stranger, was placed upon the throne, the authority and superiority which the tribe of Judah had over the other tribes, began to be taken from it. This was an indication that the time of the Messiah's coming was not far off. The tribe of Judah has no longer the supremacy; it no longer subsists as a body, from which the magistrates are taken. It is manifest, therefore, that the Messiah is come. But at what time did that tribe become like the rest, and was confounded with them? In the time of Titus and Adrian, who finally exterminated the remnant of Judah. It was therefore before those times that the Messiah came.

How wonderful does GOD appear in the accomplishment of his prophecies! Would it be making a right use of history, not to dwell a few moments upon facts like this, when we meet them in the course of our subject? Herod, reduced to quit Jerusalem, takes refuge at Rome. He has no thoughts of demanding the sovereignty for himself, but for another. It was the grossest injustice to give it to a stranger, whilst there were princes of the royal family in being. It was contrary to the laws, and even con-

* By F. Babuty, Rue St. Jacques.

trary to the usual practice of the Romans. But it had been decreed from all eternity, that Herod should be king of the Jews. Heaven and earth should sooner pass away, than that decree of GOD not be fulfilled. Antony was at Rome, and in possession of sovereign power, when Herod arrived there. How many events were necessary to the conducting of things to this point! But is there any thing too hard for the Almighty?

ARTICLE II.

Abridgment of the history of the Parthians, from the establishment of that empire to the defeat of Crassus, which is related at large.

THE Parthian empire was one of the most powerful and most considerable that ever was in the East. Very weak in its beginnings, as is common, it extended itself by little and little over all Upper Asia, and made even the Romans tremble. Its duration is generally allowed to be four hundred threescore and fourteen years; of which two hundred and fifty-four years were before JESUS CHRIST, and two hundred and twenty after him. Arsaces was the founder of that empire, from whom all his successors were called Arsacidæ. Artaxerxes, by birth a Persian, having overcome and slain Artabanus, the last of those kings, transferred the empire of the Parthians to the Persians, in the fifth year of the emperor Alexander, the son of Mammæa. I shall only speak here of the affairs of the Parthians before JESUS CHRIST, and shall treat them very briefly, except the defeat of Crassus, which I shall relate in all its extent.

A. M. 3754. Ant. J. C. 250. I have observed elsewhere what gave[y] Arsaces I. occasion to make Parthia revolt, and to expel the Macedonians, who had been in possession of it from the death of Alexander the Great; and in what man-

[y] See Vol. VI.

ner he had caused himself to be elected king of the Parthians. Theodotus at the same time made Bactriana revolt, and took that province from Antiochus, surnamed Theos.

Some time after, Seleucus Callinicus,[z] who succeeded Antiochus, endeavoured in vain to subdue the Parthians. He fell into their hands himself, and was made prisoner: this happened in the reign of Tiridates, called otherwise Arsaces II. brother of the first. A. M. 3768. Ant. J. C. 236.

Antiochus, surnamed the Great,[a] was more successful than his predecessor. He marched into the East, and repossessed himself of Media, which the Parthians had taken from him. He also entered Parthia, and obliged the * king to retire into Hyrcania, from whence he returned soon after with an army of a hundred thousand foot and twenty thousand horse. As the war was of a tedious duration, Antiochus made a treaty with Arsaces, by which he left him Parthia and Hyrcania, upon condition that he should assist him in reconquering the other revolted provinces. Antiochus marched afterwards against Euthydemus king of Bactria, with whom he was also obliged to come to an accommodation. A. M. 3792. Ant. J. C. 212.

PRIAPATIUS, the son of Arsaces II., succeeded his father; and after having reigned fifteen years, left the crown at his death to PHRAATES I., his eldest son. A. M. 3798. Ant. J. C. 206.

Phraates left it to MITHRIDATES, whom he preferred before his own issue, upon account of his extraordinary merit. In fact, he was one of the greatest kings the Parthians ever had He carried his arms farther than Alexander the Great. It was he who made Demetrius Nicator prisoner. A. M. 3840. Ant. J. C. 164.

PHRAATES II. succeeded Mithridates his father. A. M. 3873. Ant. J. C. 131.

[z] See Vol. VI. [a] Ibid.

* The Abbé Longuerue, in his Latin Dissertation upon the Arsacidæ, ascribes what is here said to Artabanus, whom he places between Arsaces II. and Priapatius. Justin says nothing of him.

Antiochus Sidetes, king of Syria, marched against him at the head of a powerful army, under pretence of delivering his brother Demetrius, who had been long kept in captivity. After having defeated Phraates in three battles, he was himself overthrown and killed in the last, and his army entirely cut to pieces. Phraates in his turn, at the time he had formed the design of invading Syria, was attacked by the Scythians, and lost his life in a battle.

A. M. 3875. Ant. J. C. 129. ARTABANUS his uncle reigned in his stead, and died soon after.

His successor was MITHRIDATES II., of whom Justin says, [b] that his great actions acquired him the surname of Great.

He declared war against the Armenians, and by a treaty of peace which he made with them, he obliged their king to send him his son Tigranes as a hostage. The latter was afterwards set upon the throne of Armenia by the Parthians themselves, and joined with Mithridates king of Pontus in the war against the Romans.

A. M. 3909. Ant. J. C. 95.

Antiochus Eusebes took refuge with Mithridates, who re-established him in the possession of part of the kingdom of Syria two years after.

A. M. 3912. Ant. J. C. 92.

It was the same Mithridates, as we shall see hereafter, who sent Orobazus to Sylla, to demand the amity and alliance of the Romans, and who caused him to be put to death on his return, for having given precedence to Sylla.

A. M. 3914. Ant. J. C. 90.

[c] Demetrius Eucheres, who reigned at Damascus, besieging Philip his brother in the city of Beræa, was defeated and taken by the Parthian troops sent to the aid of Philip, and carried prisoner to Mithridates, who treated him with all possible honours. He died there of a disease.

A. M. 3915. Ant. J. C. 89.

Mithridates II. died, [d] after having reigned forty years, generally regretted by his subjects. The do-

[b] Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 3. [c] Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 22.
[d] Strab. l. xi. p. 532. Plut. in Lucul. p. 500, &c.

mestic troubles with which his death was followed, considerably weakened the Parthian empire, and made his loss still more sensibly felt. Tigranes re-entered upon all the provinces which he had given up to the Parthians, and took several others from them. He passed the Euphrates, and made himself master of Syria and Phœnicia.

During these troubles, the Parthians elected MNASKIRES, and, after him, SINATROCCES, kings, of whom scarcely any thing more is known than their names.

PHRAATES, the son of the latter, was he who caused himself to be surnamed THE GOD. A.M. 3935. Ant. J. C. 69.

He sent ambassadors to Lucullus, after the great victory which the Romans had obtained over Tigranes. He held at the same time secret intelligence with the latter. It was at that time Mithridates wrote to him the letter which Sallust has preserved.

Pompey having been appointed in the place of Lucullus, to terminate the war against Mithridates, engaged Phraates in the party of the Romans. A. M. 3938. Ant. J. C. 66.

The latter joins Tigranes the younger against his father, and breaks with Pompey.

After Pompey's return to Rome, Phraates is killed by his own children. MITHRIDATES his eldest son takes his place. A. M. 3948. Ant. J. C. 56.

Tigranes king of Armenia dies almost at the same time. Artavasdes his son succeeds him.

Mithridates,[e] expelled his kingdom either by his own subjects, to whom he had rendered himself odious, or by the ambition of his brother Orodes, applies to Gabinius, who commanded in Syria, to re-establish him upon the throne; but without effect. He takes up arms in his own defence. Besieged in Babylon, and warmly pressed, he surrenders to Orodes, who, considering him only as an enemy, and not as a brother, causes him to be put to death; by A. M. 3949. Ant. J. C. 55.

[e] Justin. l. xlii. c. 4.

which means Orodes becomes peaceable possessor of the throne.

[f]A. M. 3950. Ant. J. C. 54. [f]But he found enough to employ him abroad, that he had no reason to expect. Crassus had lately been created consul at Rome, for the second time, with Pompey. On the partition of the provinces, Syria fell to Crassus, who was exceedingly rejoiced upon that account; because it favoured the design he had formed of carrying the war into Parthia. When he was in company, even with people whom he scarce knew, he could not moderate his transports. Amongst his friends, with whom he was under less restraint, he even burst out into rhodomontades unworthy of his age and character, and seemed to be no longer the same man. He did not confine his views to the government of Syria, nor to the conquest of some neighbouring provinces, nor even to that of Parthia. He flattered himself with doing such things, as should make the great exploits of Lucullus against Tigranes, and those of Pompey against Mithridates, appear like child's play in comparison with his. He had already over-run, in imagination, Bactriana and the Indies, and penetrated as far as the remotest seas, and the extremities of the East. However, in the instructions and powers which were given him, war against Parthia was in no manner included; but all the world knew his design against it was his darling passion. Such a beginning forebodes no success.

His departure had besides something more inauspicious in it. One of the tribunes, named Ateius, threatened to oppose his going; and was joined by many people, who could not suffer him to set out, merely through wantonness, to make war against a people who had done the Romans no injury, and were their friends and allies. That tribune, in consequence, having in vain opposed the departure of Crassus, made haste to the gate of the city through which he

[f] Plut. in Crass. p. 552, 554.

was to pass, and set a chafing-dish full of fire before him; and as soon as Crassus came to the place, he threw perfumes, and poured libations into the pan, uttering over them the most terrible imprecations, which could not be heard without making all present shudder with horror, and of which the misfortunes of Crassus have been regarded by many writers as the accomplishment.

Nothing could stop him. Superior to all opposition, he continued his march, arrived at Brundusium; and, though the sea was very tempestuous, embarked, and lost many of his ships in his passage. When he arrived at Galatia, he had an interview with king Dejotarus, who, though far advanced in years, was at that time employed in building a new city. Upon which Crassus rallied him to this effect: "King of the Galatians, you begin full late to build "a city at the * twelfth hour of the day." "And "you, my lord," replied Dejotarus, "are not over "early in setting out to make war against the Par- "thians." For Crassus was at that time upwards of sixty years old, and his countenance made him look still older than he was.

He had been informed [t] that there were considerable treasures in the temple of Jerusalem, which Pompey had not ventured to touch. He believed it well worth his while to go a little out of his way to make himself master of them. He therefore marched thither with his army. Besides the other riches, which amounted to very considerable sums, in the temple there was a beam of gold, inclosed and concealed in another of wood made hollow for that purpose: this was known only to Eleazar, the priest, who kept the treasures of the sanctuary. This beam of gold weighed three hundred minæ, each of which weighed two pounds and a half. Eleazar, who was apprised of the motive of Crassus's march to Jerusalem, in order to

[t] Joseph. Antiq. xiv. 12.

* The twelfth hour was the end of the day.

save the other riches, which were almost all of them deposited in the temple by private persons, discovered the golden beam to Crassus, and suffered him to take it away, after having made him take an oath not to meddle with the rest. Was he so ignorant as to imagine any thing sacred in the eyes of avarice? Crassus took the beam of gold; and, notwithstanding, plundered the rest of the treasures, which amounted to about fifteen hundred thousand pounds sterling. He then continued his route.

Every thing succeeded at first as happily as he could have expected. He built a bridge over the Euphrates without any opposition, passed it with his army, and entered the Parthian territories. He invaded them without any other real motive for the war, than the insatiable desire of enriching himself by the plunder of a country which was supposed to be extremely opulent. The Romans under Sylla, and afterwards under Pompey, had made peace and several treaties with them. There had been no complaint of any infraction of these treaties, nor of any other enterprise that could give a just pretext for a war. So that the Parthians expected nothing less than such an invasion; and not being upon their guard, had made no preparations for their defence. Crassus, in consequence, was master of the field, and overran without opposition the greatest part of Mesopotamia. He took also several cities without resistance; and had he known how to take advantage of the occasion, it had been easy for him to have penetrated as far as Seleucia and Ctesiphon, to have seized them, and made himself master of all Babylonia, as he had done of Mesopotamia. But instead of pursuing his point, in the beginning of autumn, after having left seven thousand foot and a thousand horse to secure the cities which had surrendered to him, he repassed the Euphrates, and put his troops into winter-quarters in the cities of Syria, where his sole employment was to amass money, and to plunder temples.

He was joined there by his son, whom Cæsar sent

to him out of Gaul, a young man who had already been honoured with several of the military crowns, which were given by generals to such as distinguished themselves by their valour. He brought with him a thousand chosen horse.

Of all the faults committed by Crassus in this expedition, which were all very considerable, the greatest undoubtedly, after that of having undertaken this war, was his hasty return into Syria. For he ought to have gone on without stopping, and to have seized Babylon and Seleucia, cities always at enmity with the Parthians, instead of giving his enemies time to make preparations by his retreat, which was the cause of his ruin.

Whilst he was re-assembling all his troops from their winter-quarters, ambassadors from the king of Parthia arrived, who opened their commission in few words. They told him that if that army was sent by the Romans against the Parthians, the war could not be terminated by any treaty of peace, and could only be brought to a conclusion by the final ruin of the one or the other empire. That if, as they had been informed, it was only Crassus, who, contrary to the opinion of his country, and to satiate his private avarice, had taken arms against them, and entered one of their provinces, the king their master was well disposed to act with moderation in the affair, to take pity on the age of Crassus, and to suffer the Romans in his dominions, who were rather shut up, than keeping possession of cities, to depart with their lives and rings safe. They spoke no doubt of the garrisons which Crassus had left in the conquered places. Crassus answered this discourse only with a rhodomontade. He told them, "They should have his "answer in the city of Seleucia." Upon which the most ancient of the ambassadors, named Vahises, made answer, laughing and showing him the palm of his hand: "Crassus, you will sooner see hair grow "in the palm of my hand, than you will see Seleucia."

The ambassadors retired, and went to give their king notice that he must prepare for war.

A. M. 3951. Ant. J. C. 53. As soon as the season would permit, [h] Crassus took the field. The Parthians had time during the winter to assemble a very great army to make head against him. Orodes their king divided his troops, and marched in person with one part of them to the frontiers of Armenia: he sent the other into Mesopotamia, under the command of Surena. That general, upon his arrival there, retook several of the places of which Crassus had made himself master the year before.

About the same time some Roman soldiers, who with exceeding difficulty had escaped out of the cities of Mesopotamia, where they had been in garrison, of which the Parthians had already retaken some, and were besieging the rest, came to Crassus, and related things to him highly capable of disquieting and alarming him. They told him, that they had seen with their own eyes the incredible numbers of the enemy, and that they had also been witnesses of their terrible valour in the bloody attacks of the cities they besieged. They added, that they were troops not to be escaped when they pursued, nor overtaken when they fled; that their arrows, of an astonishing weight, and at the same time of an astonishing rapidity, were always attended with mortal wounds, against which it was impossible to guard.

This discourse infinitely abated the courage and boldness of the Roman soldiers; who had imagined, that the Parthians differed in nothing from the Armenians and Cappadocians, whom Lucullus had so easily overthrown; and flattered themselves, that the whole difficulty of the war would consist in the length of the way, and the pursuit of the enemy, who would never dare to come to blows with them. They now saw, contrary to their expectation, that they were to undergo great battles and great

[h] Plut. in Crass. p. 554.

dangers. This discouragement rose so high, that many of the principal officers were of opinion that it was necessary for Crassus, before he advanced farther, to assemble a council, in order to deliberate again upon the whole enterprise. But Crassus listened to no other advice than that of those who pressed him to begin his march, and to make all possible expedition.

What encouraged him the most, and confirmed him in that resolution, was the arrival of Artabasus king of Armenia. He brought with him a body of six thousand horse, which were part of his guards; adding that, besides these, he had ten thousand cuirassiers, and thirty thousand foot, at his service. But he advised him to take great care not to march his army into the plains of Mesopotamia, and told him, that he must enter the enemy's country by the way of Armenia; the reasons with which he enforced this advice, were, that Armenia, being a mountainous country, the Parthian cavalry, in which the greatest strength of their army consisted, would be rendered entirely useless to them: that if they took this route he should be in a condition to supply the army with all necessaries; instead of which, if they marched by the way of Mesopotamia, convoys would fail, and he would have a powerful army in his front on all the marches it would be necessary for him to take, before he could penetrate to the centre of the enemy's dominions; that in those plains, the horse would have all possible advantages against him; and, lastly, that he must cross several sandy deserts, where the troops might be in great distress for want of water and provisions. The advice was excellent, and the reasons unanswerable; but Crassus, blinded by Providence, who intended to punish the sacrilege he had committed in plundering the temple of Jerusalem, despised all that was said to him. He only desired Artabasus, who was returning into his dominions, to bring him his troops as soon as possible.

I have said, that Providence blinded Crassus, which is self-evident in a great measure. But a Pagan writer makes the same remark: this is Dion Cassius, a very judicious historian, and at the same time a military man. He says, that the Romans, under Crassus, "had no salutary view, and were "either ignorant upon all occasions of what was "necessary to be done, or in no condition to exe- "cute it; so that one would have thought, that, con- "demned and persecuted by some divinity, they "could neither make use of their bodies nor minds." That Divinity was unknown to Dion. It was He whom the Jewish nation adored, and who avenged the injury done to his temple.

Crassus made haste, therefore, to set forward. He had seven legions of foot, near four thousand horse, and as many light-armed soldiers and archers, which amounted in all to more than forty thousand men; that is to say, one of the finest armies the Romans ever set on foot. When his troops were passing the bridge he had laid over the river Euphrates, near the city of Zeugma, a dreadful storm of thunder and lightning drove in the face of the soldiers, as if to prevent them from going on. At the same time a black cloud, out of which burst an impetuous whirlwind, attended with thunder-claps and lightning, fell upon the bridge and broke down a part of it. The troops were seized with fear and sadness. He endeavoured to re-animate them as well as he was able, promising them with an oath, that they should march back by the way of Armenia; and concluded his discourse with assuring them, that not one of them should return that way. Those last words, which were ambiguous, and had escaped him very imprudently, threw the whole army into the greatest trouble and dismay. Crassus well knew the bad effect they had produced; but out of a spirit of obstinacy and haughtiness, he neglected to remedy it, by explaining the sense of those words, to re-assure the timorous.

He made his troops advance along the Euphrates. His scouts, whom he had sent out for intelligence, shortly returned, and reported, that there was not a single man to be seen in the country, but that they had found the marks of abundance of horse which seemed to have fled suddenly, as if they had been pursued.

Upon this advice, Crassus confirmed himself in his hopes; and his soldiers began to despise the Parthians, as men that would never have courage to stand a charge, and come to an engagement with them. Cassius advised him at least to approach some town, where they had a garrison, in order to rest the army a little, and have time to learn the true number of the enemies, their force, and what designs they had in view; or, if Crassus did not approve that counsel, to march along the Euphrates towards Seleucia; because, by always keeping upon the banks of that river, he would put it out of the power of the Parthian cavalry to surround him; and that with the fleet which might follow him, provisions might be always brought from Syria, and all other things of which the army might stand in need. This Cassius was Crassus's quæstor, and the same who afterwards killed Cæsar.

Crassus, after having considered this advice, was upon the point of complying with it, when a chief of the Arabians, named Ariamnes, came in unexpectedly, and had the address to make him approve a quite different plan. That Arab had formerly served under Pompey, and was known by many of the Roman soldiers, who looked upon him as a friend. Surena found him, from this circumstance, admirably qualified to play the part he gave him. Accordingly, when he was conducted to Crassus, he informed him, that the Parthians would not look the Roman army in the face; that its name alone had already spread an universal terror among their troops; and that there wanted no more for the obtaining a complete victory, than to march directly up to them, and give them

battle. He offered to be their guide himself, and to carry them the shortest way. Crassus, blinded by his flattery, and deceived by a man who knew how to give a specious turn to what he proposed, fell into the snare, notwithstanding the pressing entreaties of Cassius, and some others, who suspected that impostor's design.

Crassus would hearken to nobody. The traitor Ariamnes, after having persuaded him to draw off from the banks of the Euphrates, conducted him across the plain by a way at first level and easy, but which at length became difficult, from the deep sands in which the army found itself engaged, in the midst of a vast country all bare and parched, where the eye could discover neither end nor boundary where the troops might hope to find rest and refreshment. If thirst, and the fatigue of the way, discouraged the Romans, the prospect of the country alone threw them into a despair still more terrible: for they could perceive neither near them, nor at a distance, the least tree, plant, or brook; not so much as a hill, nor a single blade of grass; nothing was to be seen all round but heaps of burning sand.

This gave just reason to suspect some treachery, of which the arrival of couriers from Artabasus ought to have fully convinced them. That prince informed Crassus, that king Orodes had invaded his dominions with a great army; that the war he had to maintain, prevented him from sending the aid he had promised; but that he advised him to approach Armenia, in order that they might unite their forces against the common enemy: that, if he would not follow that advice, he cautioned him at least to avoid, in his marches and encampments, the open plains, and such places as were commodious for the horse, and to keep always close to the mountains. Crassus, instead of giving ear to these wise counsels, inveighed against those that gave them; and without vouchsafing to write an answer

to Artabasus, he only told his couriers, "I have not "time at present to consider the affairs of Armenia; "I shall go thither soon, and shall then punish Ar- "tabasus for his treachery."

Crassus was so infatuated with his Arab, and so blinded by his artful suggestions, that he had continued to follow him without the least distrust, notwithstanding all the advice that was given him, till he had brought him into the sandy desert we have mentioned. The traitor then made his escape, and went to give Surena an account of what he had done.

After a march of some days in a desert and enemy's country, where it was difficult to have any intelligence, the scouts came in full speed to inform Crassus, that a very numerous army of the Parthians was advancing with great order and boldness to attack him immediately. That news threw the whole camp into great trouble and consternation. Crassus was more affected with it than the rest. He made all possible haste to draw up his army in battle. At first, following the advice of Cassius, he extended his infantry as far as he could, that it might take up the more ground, and make it difficult for the enemy to surround him; and he posted all his cavalry upon the wings. But afterwards he changed his opinion, and drawing up his foot in close order, he made them form a large hollow square, facing on all sides, of which each flank had twelve *cohorts in front. Every cohort had a company of horse near it, in order that, each part being equally sustained by the cavalry, the whole body might charge with greater security and boldness. He gave one of the wings to Cassius, the other to his son the younger Crassus, and posted himself in the centre.

They advanced in this order to the banks of a brook which had not much water, but was how-

* The Roman cohort was a body of infantry consisting of five or six hundred men; and differed very little from what is now called a battalion.

ever highly grateful to the soldiers, from the exceeding drought and excessive heat.

Most of the officers were of opinion, that it was proper to encamp in this place, to give the troops time to recover from the extraordinary fatigues they had undergone in a long and painful march, and to rest there during the night; that in the mean time, all possible endeavours should be used to get intelligence of the enemy, and that when their number and disposition were known, they should attack them the next day. But Crassus, suffering himself to be carried away by the ardour of his son, and of the cavalry under his command, who pressed him to lead them against the enemy, gave orders that all who had occasion, should take their refreshment under arms in their ranks; and scarce allowing them time for that purpose, he commanded them to march, and led them on, not slowly and halting sometimes, but with rapidity, and as fast as they could move, till they came in view of the enemy. Contrary to their expectation, they did not appear either so numerous or so terrible, as they had been represented, which was a stratagem of Surena's. He had concealed the greatest part of his battalions behind the advanced troops, and to prevent their being perceived by the brightness of their arms, he had given them orders to cover themselves with their vests or with skins.

When they approached and were ready to charge, the Parthian general had no sooner given the signal of battle than the whole field resounded with dreadful cries, and the most horrid noise. For the Parthians did not excite their troops to battle with horns or trumpets, but made use of a great number of hollow instruments, covered with leather, and having bells of brass round them, which they struck violently against each other; and the noise made by these instruments was harsh and terrible, and seemed like the roaring of wild beasts, joined with claps of thunder. Those barbarians had well observed, that

of all the senses none disorders the soul more than the hearing: that it strikes upon, and affects it the most immediately, and is the most sudden in making it in a manner confused and distracted.

The trouble and dismay into which this noise had thrown the Romans, were quite different when the Parthians, throwing off on a sudden the covering of their arms, appeared all on fire, from the exceeding brightness of their helmets and cuirasses, which were of burnished steel, and glittered like sun-beams, and to which the furniture and armour of their horses added not a little. At their head appeared Surena, handsome, well made, of an advantageous stature, and of a much greater reputation for valour than the effeminacy of his mien seemed to promise. For he was painted after the fashion of the Medes, and, like them, wore his hair curled and dressed with art; whereas the other Parthians still persevered in wearing theirs after the manner of the Scythians, much neglected, and such as nature gave them, in order to appear more terrible.

At first the barbarians were for charging the Romans with their pikes, and endeavoured to penetrate and break the front ranks; but having observed the depth of the hollow square so well closed and even, in which the troops stood firm and supported each other successfully, they fell back and retired in a seeming confusion, as if their order of battle were broken. But the Romans were much astonished to see on a sudden their whole army surrounded on all sides. Crassus immediately gave orders for his archers and light-armed foot to charge them; but they could not execute those orders long; for they were compelled by a shower of arrows to retire, and cover themselves behind their heavy-armed foot.

Their disorder and dismay now began, when they experienced the rapidity and force of those arrows, against which no armour was proof, and which penetrated alike whatever they hit. The Parthians dividing, applied themselves on all sides to shooting at a

distance, without its being possible for them to miss, even though they had endeavoured it, so close were the Romans embattled. They did dreadful execution, and made deep wounds, because as they drew their bows to the utmost, the strings discharged their arrows, which were of an extraordinary weight, with an impetuosity and force that nothing could resist.

The Romans, attacked in this manner on all sides by the enemy, knew not in what manner to act. If they continued firm in their ranks, they were wounded mortally, and if they quitted them to charge the enemy, they could do them no hurt, and suffered no less than before. The Parthians fled before them, and kept a continual discharge as they retired; for of all nations in the world they were the most expert in that exercise after the Scythians: an operation in reality very wisely conceived; since by flying they saved their lives, and by fighting, avoided the infamy of flight.

As long as the Romans had hopes that the barbarians, after having exhausted all their arrows, would either give over the fight, or come to blows with them hand to hand, they supported their distress with valour and resolution; but when they perceived that in the rear of the enemy there were camels laden with arrows, whither those who had exhausted their quivers wheeled about to replenish them, Crassus, losing almost all courage, sent orders to his son to endeavour, whatever it cost him, to join the enemy, before he was entirely surrounded by them; for they were principally intent against him, and were wheeling about to take him in the rear.

Young Crassus, therefore, at the head of thirteen hundred horse, five hundred archers, and * eight cohorts armed with round bucklers, wheeled about against those who endeavoured to surround him. The latter, whether they were afraid to stand the charge

* These formed four or five thousand men.

of a body of troops that came on with so good an aspect, or whether they designed to draw off young Crassus, as far as they could from his father, immediately faced about and fled. Young Crassus upon that, crying out as loud as he could, "They don't stand us," pushed on full speed after them. The foot, animated by the example of the horse, piqued themselves upon not staying behind, and followed them at their heels, carried on by their eagerness, and the joy which the hopes of victory gave them. They firmly believed they had conquered, and had nothing to do but to pursue, till being at a great distance from their main body, they discovered the stratagem; for those who had seemed to fly, faced about, and being joined by many other troops, came on to charge the Romans.

Young Crassus thereupon made his troops halt, in hopes that the enemy, upon seeing their small number, would not fail to attack them, and come to close fight. But those barbarians contented themselves with opposing him in front with their heavy-armed horse, and send out detachments of their light horse, that wheeling about, and surrounding them on all sides without joining them, poured in a perpetual flight of arrows upon them. At the same time, by stirring up the heaps of sand, they raised so thick a dust, that the Romans could neither see nor speak to one another; and being pent up in a narrow space, and keeping close order, they were a mark for every arrow shot at them, and died by a slow but cruel death. For finding their entrails pierced, and not being able to support the pain they suffered, they rolled themselves upon the sands with the arrows in their bodies, and expired in that manner in exquisite torments; or endeavouring to tear out by force the bearded points of the arrows, which had penetrated through their veins and nerves, they only made their wounds the larger, and increased their pain.

Most of them died in this manner; and those who were still alive were no longer in any condition to act. For when young Crassus exhorted them to charge the heavy-armed horse, they showed him their hands nailed to their bucklers, and their feet pierced through and through and riveted to the ground; so that it was equally impossible for them either to defend themselves or fly. Putting himself therefore at the head of his horse, he made a vigorous charge upon that heavy-armed body covered with iron, and threw himself boldly amongst the squadrons, but with great disadvantage, as well in attacking as defending. For his troops with weak and short javelins struck against armour either of excellent steel, or very hard leather; whereas the barbarians charged the Gauls, who were either naked or lightly armed, with good and strong spears. These Gauls were troops in whom young Crassus placed the greatest confidence, and with whom he did most wonderful exploits. For those troops took hold of the spears of the Parthians, and closing with them, seized them by the neck, and threw them off their horses upon the ground, where they lay without power to stir, from the exceeding weight of their arms. Several of the Gauls quitting their horses, crept under those of the enemy, and thrust their swords into their bellies. The horses, wild with the pain, plunged and reared, and throwing off their riders, trampled them under foot as well as the enemy, and fell dead upon both.

But what gave the Gauls most trouble, was the heat and thirst; for they were not accustomed to support them. They lost also the greatest part of their horses, which, running precipitately upon that heavy-armed body, killed themselves upon their spears. They were obliged therefore to retire to their infantry, and to carry off young Crassus, who had received several dangerous wounds.

Upon their way they saw, at a small distance, a rising bank of sand, to which they retired. They

fastened their horses in the centre, and made an enclosure with their bucklers, by way of entrenchment, in hopes that it would assist them considerably in defending themselves against the barbarians; but it happened quite otherwise. For in a level spot, the front covered the rear, and gave it some relaxation; whereas upon this hill, the inequality of the ground showing them over each other's heads, and those in the rear most, they were all exposed to the enemy's shot. So that, unable to avoid the arrows which the barbarians showered continually upon them, they were all equally struck by them, and deplored their unhappy destiny, in perishing thus miserably, without being able to make use of their arms, or to give the enemy proofs of their valour.

Young Crassus had two Greeks with him, who had settled in that country in the city of Carræ. Those two young men, touched with compassion to see him in so bad a condition, pressed him to make off with them, and to retire into the city of Ischnes, which had espoused the party of the Romans, and was at no great distance. But he replied, "that no fear of any death, however cruel, could induce him to abandon so many brave men, who died through love for him." A noble sentiment in a young nobleman! He ordered them to make off as fast as they could, and embracing them, dismissed them the service. For himself, not being able to make use of his hand, which was shot through with an arrow, he commanded one of his domestics to thrust his sword through him, and presented his side to him. The principal officers killed themselves, and many of those that remained were slain, fighting with exceeding valour. The Parthians made only about five hundred prisoners; and after having cut off young Crassus's head, marched immediately against his father.

The latter, after having ordered his son to charge the Parthians, and received advice that they were

put to the rout, and were pursued vigorously, had resumed some courage, and the more, because those who opposed him, seemed to abate considerably of their ardour; for the greatest part of them were gone with the rest against young Crassus. Wherefore, drawing his army together, he retired to a small hill in his rear, in hopes that his son would speedily return from the pursuit.

Of a great number of officers, sent successively by his son to inform him of the danger he was in, the greatest part had fallen into the hands of the barbarians, who had put them to the sword. Only the last, who had escaped with great difficulty, got to his presence, and declared to him that his son was lost, if he did not send him directly a powerful reinforcement. Upon this news, Crassus was struck with such a diversity of afflicting thoughts, and his reason thereby so much disturbed, that he was no longer capable of seeing or hearing any thing. However, the desire of saving his son and the army, determined him to go to his aid, and he ordered the troops to march.

At that very instant the Parthians, who were returning from the defeat of young Crassus, arrived with great cries and songs of victory, which from far apprised the wretched father of his misfortune. The barbarians, carrying the head of young Crassus upon the end of a spear, approached the Romans, and insulting them with the most scornful bravadoes, asked them of what family that young Roman was, and who were his relations; "For," said they, "it is impossible that a young man of such extraordinary valour and bravery should be the son of so base and cowardly a father as Crassus."

This sight exceedingly dispirited the Romans, and instead of exciting the height of anger, and the desire of revenge in them, as might have been expected, froze them with terror and dismay. Crassus, however, showed more constancy and courage on his disgrace than he had done before; and running through the

ranks he cried out, "Romans, this mournful spectacle "concerns me alone. The fortune and glory of Rome "are still invulnerable and invincible, whilst you con- "tinue firm and intrepid. If you have any compas- "sion for a father who has just now lost a son whose "valour you admired, let it appear in your rage and "resentment against the barbarians. Deprive them "of their insolent joy, punish their cruelty, and do "not suffer yourselves to be cast down by my misfor- "tune. There is a necessity for experiencing some "loss, when we aspire at great achievements. Lucul- "lus did not defeat Tigranes, nor Scipio Antiochus, "without its costing them some blood. It is after "the greatest defeats that Rome has acquired the "greatest victories. It is not by the favour of fortune "she has attained to so high a degree of power, but "by her patience and fortitude in supporting herself "with vigour against adversity."

Crassus endeavoured by remonstrances of this kind to re-animate his troops; but when he had given them orders to raise the cry of battle, he perceived the general discouragement of his army even in that cry itself, which was faint, unequal, and timorous; whereas, that of the enemy was bold, full, and strenuous.

The charge being given, the light-horse of the Parthians dispersed themselves upon the wings of the Romans, and taking them in flank, overwhelmed them with their arrows, whilst the heavy cavalry attacked them in front, and obliged them to close up in one compact body; except those who, to avoid the arrows, the wounds of which occasioned a long and painful death, had the courage to throw themselves upon the horse, like men in despair. Though they did not do them much hurt, their audacity was attended with this advantage; it occasioned their dying immediately, by the large and deep wounds they received. For the barbarians thrust their lances through their bodies with such

force and vigour, that they often pierced two at once.

After having fought in that manner the remainder of the day, when night came on the barbarians retired; saying, they would grant Crassus only that night to lament for his son, unless he should find it more expedient to consult his own safety, and prefer going voluntarily to their king Arsaces, to being dragged before him. They then encamped in the presence of the Roman army, in the firm expectation that the next day they should meet with little or no difficulty in completing its defeat.

This was a terrible night for the Romans. They had no thoughts either of interring their dead, or of dressing their wounded, of whom the greatest part died in the most horrible torments. Every man was solely intent upon his own particular distress. For they all saw plainly that they could not escape, whether they waited for day in camp, or ventured during the night to throw themselves into that immense plain of which they saw no end. Besides which, in the latter choice, their wounded gave them great trouble. For to carry them off would be very difficult, and extremely retard their flight; and if they were left behind, it was not to be doubted but they would discover the departure of the army by their cries and lamentations.

Though they were perfectly sensible that Crassus alone was the cause of all their misfortunes, they however were unanimous in desiring to see his face, and to hear his voice. But he lying upon the ground, in an obscure corner, with his head covered in his cloak, was, to the vulgar, says Plutarch, a great example of the instability of fortune; to wise and considerate persons, a still greater instance of the pernicious effects of temerity and ambition, which had blinded him to such a degree, that he could not bear to be less at Rome than the first and greatest of so many millions of men, and thought himself low and

mean, because there were two above him, Cæsar and Pompey.

Octavius, one of his lieutenants, and Cassius approached him, and endeavoured to make him rise, and to console and encourage him: but seeing him entirely depressed with the weight of his affliction, and deaf to all consolation and remonstrance, they assembled the principal officers, and held a council of war directly; and it being their unanimous opinion, that it was necessary to retire immediately, they decamped without sound of trumpet. This was done at first with great silence. But soon after, the sick and wounded who could not follow, perceiving themselves abandoned, filled the camp with tumult and confusion, cries, shrieks, and horrible lamentations; so that the troops who marched foremost were seized with trouble and terror, imagining the enemy were coming on to attack them. By frequently turning back, and drawing up again in order of battle, or busying themselves in setting the wounded, who followed them, upon the beasts of burden, and in dismounting such as were less sick, they lost considerable time. There were only three hundred horse, under the command of Ignatius, who did not stop, and arrived about midnight at the city of Carræ. Ignatius called to the sentinels upon the walls, and when they answered, bade them go to Coponius, who commanded in the place, and tell him that Crassus had fought a great battle with the Parthians; and without saying any more, or letting them know who he was, he pushed on with all possible expedition to the bridge which Crassus had laid over the Euphrates, and saved his troops by that means. But he was very much blamed for having abandoned his general.

However, the message he had sent to Coponius by those guards, was of great service to Crassus. For that governor, wisely conjecturing from the manner in which the unknown person had given him that intelligence, that it implied some disaster, gave

orders immediately for the garrison to stand to their arms. And when he was informed of the way Crassus had taken, he marched out to meet him, and conducted him and his army into the city. The Parthians, though well informed of his flight, would not pursue him in the dark. But early the next morning, they entered the camp, and put all the wounded who had been left there, to the number of four thousand, to the sword; and their cavalry being dispersed over the plain after those who fled, took great numbers of them, whom they found straggling on all sides.

One of Crassus's lieutenants, named Vargunteius, having separated in the night from the main body of the army with four cohorts, missed his way, and was found the next morning upon a small eminence by the barbarians, who attacked him. He defended himself with great valour, but was at length overpowered by multitudes, and all his soldiers killed, except twenty, who with sword in hand fell on the enemy in despair, in order to open themselves a passage through them. The barbarians were so much astonished at their bravery, that out of admiration of it, they opened, and gave them a passage. They arrived safe at Carræ.

At the same time Surena received false advice, that Crassus had escaped with his best forces, and that those who had retired to Carræ were only a body of troops collected from all quarters; that were not worth the trouble of pursuing. Surena, believing the reward of his victory lost, but still uncertain whether it was or not, desired to be better informed, in order that he might resolve, either to besiege Carræ, if Crassus was there, or to pursue him if he had quitted it. He therefore dispatched one of his interpreters, who spoke both languages perfectly well, with orders to approach the walls of Carræ, and in the Roman language to desire to speak with Crassus himself, or Cassius, and to say that Surena demanded a conference with them.

The interpreter having executed his orders, Crassus accepted the proposal with joy. Soon after some Arabian soldiers came from the barbarians, who knew Crassus and Cassius by sight, from having seen them in the camp before the battle. Those soldiers approached the place, and seeing Cassius upon the walls, they told him, that Surena was inclined to treat with them, and permit them to retire, upon condition that they would continue in amity with the king his master, and abandon Mesopotamia to him: that this proposal was more advantageous for both parties, than to proceed to the last extremities.

Cassius acceded to this offer, and demanded that the time and place for an interview between Surena and Crassus should immediately be fixed. The Arabians assured him that they would go and do their utmost to that effect, and withdrew.

Surena, overjoyed with keeping his prey in a place from whence it could not escape, marched thither the next day with his Parthians, who talked at first with extreme haughtiness, and declared that if the Romans expected any favourable terms from them, they must previously deliver up Crassus and Cassius bound hand and foot into their hands. The Romans, enraged at such flagrant deceit, told Crassus that it was necessary to renounce all remote and vain hopes of aid from the Armenians, and fly that very night, without losing a moment's time. It was highly important that not one of the inhabitants of Carræ should know of this design, till the instant of its execution. But Andromachus, one of the citizens, was informed of it first, and by Crassus himself, who confided it to him, and chose him for his guide, relying very injudiciously upon his fidelity.

The Parthians consequently were not long before they were fully apprised of the whole plan by means of that traitor. But as it was not their custom to engage in the night, the impostor, to prevent Crassus from getting so much ground as might make it im-

possible for the Parthians to come up with him, led the Romans sometimes by one way, sometimes by another, and at length brought them into deep marshy grounds, and places intersected with great ditches, where it was very difficult to march, and necessary to make a great many turnings and windings to extricate themselves out of that labyrinth.

There were some who, suspecting that it was with no good design that Andromachus made them go backwards and forwards in that manner, refused at last to follow him, and Cassius himself returned towards Carræ. By hasty marches he escaped into Syria with five hundred horse. Most of the rest, who had trusty guides, gained the pass of the mountains, called the *Sinnachian* mountains, and were in a place of safety before the break of day. The latter might be about five thousand men, under the command of Octavius.

As for Crassus, the day overtook him, while he was still embarrassed, by the contrivance of the perfidious Andromachus, in those marshy and difficult places. He had with him four cohorts of foot armed with round bucklers, a few horse, and five lictors who carried the fasces before him.

He at length came into the main road, after abundance of trouble and difficulty, when the enemy were almost upon him, and he had no more than twelve stadia to march in order to join the troops under Octavius. All he could do was to gain as soon as possible another summit of those mountains, less impracticable to the horse, and in consequence not so secure. This was under that of the *Sinnachian* mountains, to which it was joined by a long chain of mountains that filled up all the space between them. Octavius therefore saw plainly the danger that threatened Crassus, and descended first himself from those eminences with a small number of soldiers to his aid. But he was soon followed by all the rest, who reproaching themselves for their cowardice, flew to his

assistance. Upon their arrival they charged the barbarians so roughly, that they obliged them to abandon the hill. After that they placed Crassus in the midst of them, and forming a kind of rampart for him with their bucklers, they declared fiercely that not an arrow of the enemy should approach their general's body till they were all dead round him fighting in his defence.

Surena, seeing that the Parthians, already repulsed, went on with less vigour to the attack, and that if the night came on, and the Romans should gain the mountains, it would be impossible for him to take them, had again recourse to stratagem to amuse Crassus. He gave secret orders, that some prisoners should be set at liberty, after having posted a number of his soldiers around them, who, seeming in discourse together, said, as the general report of the army, that the king was much averse to continuing war with the Romans; that, on the contrary, his design was to cultivate their amity, and to give them proofs of his favourable inclinations, by treating Crassus with great humanity. And that their deeds might agree with their words, as soon as the prisoners were released, the barbarians retired from the fight; and Surena, advancing peaceably with his principal officers towards the hill with his bow unstrung, and arms extended, invited Crassus to come down and treat of an accommodation. He said, with a loud voice, that contrary to the king his master's will, and through the necessity of a just defence, he had made them experience the force and power of the Parthian arms; but that at present he was disposed to treat them with mildness and favour, by granting them peace, and giving them liberty to retire with entire security on his part. We have observed, on more than one occasion, that the peculiar characteristic of these barbarians was to promote the success of their designs by fraud and treachery, and to make no scruple of breaking through their engagements upon such occasions.

The troops of Crassus lent a willing ear to this discourse of Surena's, and expressed exceeding joy at it; but Crassus, who had experienced nothing but deceit and perfidy from the barbarians, and to whom so sudden a change was very suspicious, did not easily give into it, and deliberated with his friends. The soldiers began to call out to him, and to urge him to accept the interview. From thence they proceeded to outrage and reproaches: and went so far as to accuse him of cowardice; charging him with exposing them to be slaughtered by enemies with whom he had not so much as the courage to speak, when they appeared unarmed before him.

Crassus at first had recourse to entreaties, and remonstrated to them, that by maintaining their ground for the rest of the day, upon the eminences and difficult places where they then were, they might easily escape when night came on: he even showed them the way, and exhorted them not to frustrate such hopes of their approaching safety. But seeing they grew outrageous, that they were ready to mutiny, and, by striking their swords upon their shields, even menaced him; apprehending that commotion, he began to descend, and, turning about, he said only these few words: "Octavius, and you, Petronius, with all the officers "and captains here present, you see the necessity "I am under of taking a step I would willingly "avoid, and are witnesses of the indignities and "violence I suffer. But I beg you, when you have "retired in safety, that you will tell all the world, "for the honour of Rome our common mother, "that Crassus perished, deceived by the enemy, "and not abandoned by his citizens." Octavius and Petronius could not resolve to let him go alone, but went down the hill with him, when Crassus dismissed his lictors, who would have followed him.

The first persons the barbarians sent to him were two Greeks, who, dismounting from their horses,

saluted him with profound respect, and told him in the Greek tongue, that he had only to send some of his attendants, and Surena would satisfy them, that himself, and those with him, came without arms, and with all the fidelity and good intentions possible. Crassus replied, that had he set the least value upon his life, he should not have come to put himself into their hands; and sent two brothers, named Roscius, to know only upon what foot they should treat, and in what number.

Surena caused those two brothers to be seized and kept prisoners; and advancing on horseback, followed by the principal officers of his army, as soon as he perceived Crassus, "What do I see?" said he: "What! the general of the Romans on foot, and "ourselves on horseback! Let a horse be brought "for him immediately." He imagined that Crassus appeared in that manner before him out of respect. Crassus replied, "that there was no reason to be "surprised that they came to an interview, each after "the* custom of his own country." "Very good," returned Surena; "from henceforth let there be a "treaty of peace between king Orodes and the Ro-"mans: but we must go to prepare and sign the ar-"ticles of it upon the banks of the Euphrates. For "you Romans," added he, "do not always remember "your conventions." At the same time he held out his hand to him. Crassus would have sent for a horse; but Surena told him there was no occasion for it, and that the king made him a present of that.

A horse was immediately presented to him, which had a golden bit; and the king's officers taking him round the middle set him upon it, surrounded him, and began to strike the horse to make him go forwards faster. Octavius was the first, who, offended at such behaviour, took the horse by the bridle.

* Amongst the Romans the consul always marched on foot, at the head of the infantry.

Petronius seconded him, and afterwards all the rest of his attendants, who came round him, and endeavoured to stop the horse, and to make those retire by force who pressed close on Crassus. At first they pushed against each other with great tumult and disorder, and afterwards came to blows. Octavius, drawing his sword, killed a groom of one of those barbarians. At the same time another of them gave Octavius a great stroke with his sword behind, which laid him dead upon the spot. Petronius, who had no shield, received a stroke upon his cuirass, and leaped from his horse without being wounded. Crassus at the same moment was killed by a Parthian. Of those who were present, some were killed fighting around Crassus, and others had retired in good time to the hill.

The Parthians soon followed them thither, and told them, that Crassus had suffered the punishment due to his treachery; but as for them, that Surena let them know they had only to come down with confidence, and gave them his word that they should suffer no ill treatment. Upon this promise some went down and put themselves into the hands of the enemy; others took the advantage of the night, and dispersed on all sides. But of the latter very few escaped; all the rest were pursued the next day by the Arabians, who came up with them, and put them to the sword.

The loss of this battle was the most terrible blow the Romans had received since the battle of Cannæ. They had twenty thousand men killed in it, and ten thousand taken prisoners. The rest made their escape by different ways into Armenia, Cilicia, and Syria; and out of these ruins another army was afterwards formed in Syria, of which Cassius took upon him the command, and with it prevented that country from falling into the hands of the victor.

This defeat must, in one sense, have been more affecting to them than that of the battle of Cannæ,

because they had less reason to expect it. When Hannibal was victorious at Cannæ, Rome was in a state of humiliation. She had already lost many battles, and had no thought but of defending herself, and repulsing the enemy from her territory. At this time Rome was triumphant, respected and dreaded by all nations: she was mistress of the most potent kingdoms of Europe, Asia, and Africa; lately victorious over one of the most formidable enemies she ever had; yet in the most exalted height of her greatness, she saw her glory suddenly fall to the ground, in an attack upon a people, formed out of the assemblage of the eastern nations, whose valour she despised, and whom she reckoned already amongst her conquests. So complete a victory showed those haughty conquerors of the world a rival in a remote people, capable of making head against, and disputing the empire of the universe with, them; and not only of setting bounds to their ambitious projects, but of making them tremble for their own safety. It showed that the Romans might be overthrown in a pitched battle, and fighting with all their forces; that that power, which till then, like the inundation of a mighty sea, had overflowed all the countries in its way, might at length receive bounds, and be restrained for the future within them.

The check received by Crassus from the Parthians was a blot on the Roman name, which the victories gained over them some time after by Ventidius were not capable of effacing. The standards of the vanquished legions were always shown by them as sights. The *prisoners taken in that fatal day were kept there

* *Milesne Crassi conjuge Barbarâ*
Turpis maritus vixit? et hostium
(Proh Curia, inversique mores!)
Consenuit socerorum in armis,
Sub rege Medo, Marsus et Appulus,
Anciliorum, et nominis, et togæ
Oblitus, æternæque Vestæ,
Incolumi Jove et urbe Româ?

in captivity, and the Romans, citizens or allies, contracted ignominious marriages to the shame of Rome, as Horace emphatically describes it, and grew old in tranquillity, upon the lands, and under the standards, of barbarians. It was not till thirty years after, in the reign of Augustus, that the king of the Parthians, without being compelled to it by arms, consented to restore their standards and prisoners to the Romans, which was looked upon by Augustus and the whole empire, as a most glorious triumph; so much were the Romans humbled by the remembrance of that defeat, and so much did they believe it incumbent on them to efface it, if possible, to the least trace. For themselves, they never could forget it. Cæsar was upon the point of setting out against the Parthians, to avenge the affront which Rome had received from them, when he was killed. Antony formed the same design, which turned to his disgrace. The Romans, from that time, always regarded the war with the Parthians as the most important of their wars. It was the object of the application of their most warlike emperors, Trajan, Septimius Severus, &c. The surname of Parthicus was the title of which they were fondest, and which most sensibly flattered their ambition. If the Romans sometimes passed the Euphrates to extend their conquests beyond it, the Parthians in their turn did the same, to carry their arms and devastions into Syria, and even into Palestine. In a word, the Romans could never subject the Parthians to their yoke; and that nation was like a wall of brass, which with impregnable force resisted the most violent attacks of their power.

When the battle of Carræ was fought, Orodes was in Armenia, where he had lately concluded a peace with Artabasus. The latter, upon the return of the expresses he had sent to Crassus, perceiving by the false measures he had taken, that the Romans were infallibly lost, entered into an accommodation with Orodes; and by giving one of his daughters to Pacorus,

son of the Parthian king, he cemented by that alliance the treaty he had lately made. Whilst they were celebrating the nuptials, the head and hand of Crassus were brought to them, which Surena had caused to be cut off, and sent to the king as a proof of his victory. Their joy was exceedingly augmented by that sight; and it is said that orders were given to pour molten gold into the mouth of that head, in mockery of the insatiable thirst which Crassus always had for that metal.

Surena did not long enjoy the pleasure of his victory. His master, jealous of his glory, and of the credit it gave him, caused him to be put to death soon after. There are princes, near whom too shining qualities are dangerous; who take umbrage at the virtues they are forced to admire, and cannot bear to be served by superior talents, capable of eclipsing their own. Orodes was of this character. He * perceived, as Tacitus observes of Tiberius, that with all his power he could not sufficiently repay the service his general had lately done him. Now, where a benefit is above all return, ingratitude and hatred take the place of acknowledgement and affection.

Surena was a general of extraordinary merit. At thirty years of age he possessed consummate ability, and surpassed all the men of his time in valour. He was, besides that, perfectly well made, and of the most advantageous stature. For riches, credit, and authority, he had also more than any man; and was, undoubtedly, the greatest subject the king of Parthia had. His birth gave him the privilege of putting the crown upon the king's head at his coronation, and that right had appertained to his family from the establishment of the empire. When he travelled, he had always a thousand camels to carry his baggage, two hundred chariots for his wives and concubines,

* *Destrui per hæc fortunam suam Cæsar, imparemque tanto merito rebatur. Nam beneficia eò usque læta sunt, dum videntur exsolvi posse; ubi multum antevenere, pro gratiâ odium redditur.* Tacit. Annal. l. iv. c. 18.

and, for his guard, a thousand horse completely armed, besides a great number of light-armed troops and domestics, which in all did not amount to less than ten thousand men.

A. M. 3952. Ant. J. C. 52. The Parthians expecting, after the defeat of the Roman army, to find Syria without defence, marched to conquer it. But Cassius, who had formed an army out of the ruins of the other, received them with so much vigour, that they were obliged to repass the Euphrates shamefully, without effecting any thing.

A. M. 3953. Ant. J. C. 51. The next[1] year to the consuls, M. Calpurnius Bibulus and M. Tullius Cicero, were assigned the provinces of Syria and Cilicia. Cicero repaired immediately to the latter, which had been allotted him; but Bibulus amusing himself at Rome, Cassius continued to command in Syria. And that was much to the advantage of the Romans; for the affairs of that country required a man of a quite different capacity from Bibulus. Pacorus, son of Orodes king of the Parthians, had passed the Euphrates, in the beginning of the spring, at the head of a numerous army, and had entered Syria. He was too young to command alone, and was therefore accompanied by Orsaces, an old general, who regulated every thing. He marched directly to Antioch, which he besieged. Cassius had shut himself up in that place with all his troops. Cicero, who had received advice of his condition in his province, by the means of Antiochus king of Comagena, assembled all his forces, and marched to the eastern frontier of his province, which bordered upon Armenia, to oppose an invasion on that side, should the Armenians attempt it, and at the same time to be at hand to support Cassius in case of need. He sent another body of troops towards the mountain Amanus, with the same view. That detachment fell in with a large body of the

[1] Cic. ad famil. l. ii. Epist. 10. 17. iii. 2. xii. 19. xv. 1—4. Ad Attic. l. v. 18. 20. 21. vi. 1. 8. vii. 2.

Parthian cavalry, which had entered Cilicia, and entirely defeated it, so that not a single man escaped.

The news of this success and that of Cicero's approach to Antioch, extremely encouraged Cassius and his troops to make a good defence, and so much abated the ardour of the Parthians, that, despairing to carry the place, they raised the siege, and went to form that of Antigonia, which was not far from thence. But they were so little skilled in attacking towns, that they miscarried again before this, and were compelled to retire. We are not to be surprised at this, as the Parthians made their principal force consist in cavalry, and applied themselves most to engagements in the field, which suited their genius best. Cassius, who was apprised of the route they would take, laid an ambuscade for them, which they did not fail to fall into. He defeated them entirely, and killed a great number of them, amongst whom was their general Orsaces. The remains of their army repassed the Euphrates.

When Cicero saw the Parthians removed, and Antioch out of danger, he turned his arms against the inhabitants of mount Amanus, who, being situated between Syria and Cilicia, were independent of, and at war with, both those provinces. They made continual incursions into them, and gave them great trouble. Cicero entirely subjected those mountaineers, and took and demolished all their castles and forts. He afterwards marched against another barbarous nation, a kind of savages, who called themselves [k] free Cilicians, and pretended to have never been subjected to the empire of any of the kings who had been masters of the countries round about. He took all their cities, and made such dispositions in the country as very much pleased all their neighbours, whom they used perpetually to harass.

It is Cicero himself who acquaints us with these circumstances in several of his letters. There are

[k] Eleuthero-Cilices.

two among the rest, which may be looked upon as perfect models of the manner in which a general or commander ought to give a prince, or his ministry, an account of a military expedition; with such simplicity, perspicuity, and precision, in which the proper character of writings and relations of this kind consists, are they expressed. The first is addressed to the senate and people of Rome, and to the principal magistrates; it is the second of his fifteenth book of his familiar epistles; the other is written particularly to Cato. This last is a master-piece, wherein Cicero, who passionately desired the honour of a triumph for his military expeditions, employs all the art and address of eloquence to engage that grave senator in his favour. Plutarch tells us,[1] that after his return to Rome, the senate offered him a triumph, and that he refused it upon account of the civil war then ready to break out between Cæsar and Pompey; not believing that it became him to celebrate a solemnity which breathed nothing but joy, at a time when the state was upon the point of falling into the greatest calamities. His refusal to triumph in the midst of the apprehensions and disorders of a bloody civil war, evinces in Cicero a great love for the public good and his country, and does him much more honour than a triumph itself could have done.

During the civil war between Pompey and Cæsar, and those that followed, the Parthians declaring sometimes for one, and sometimes for the other party, made several irruptions into Syria and Palestine. But those are events which particularly relate to the Roman or Jewish histories, and therefore do not enter into my plan.

I shall conclude this abridgement of that of the Parthians, with the deaths of Pacorus and Orodes his father. Ventidius, who commanded the Roman armies, under the authority of Antony the triumvir, did not a little contribute to the re-establishing the

[1] Plut. in Cic. p. 879.

honour of the nation. He was a soldier of fortune, who from the lowest condition of [m] life, had raised himself by his merit to the highest dignities of the republic. In the war against the allies of Rome, who attempted to extort the freedom of the city by force, he was taken when an infant, with his mother, in Asculum, the capital of the Picenians, by Strabo, the father of Pompey the Great, and led in triumph before that general. Supported by the influence of C. Cæsar, under whom he had served in Gaul, and who had raised him through all the degrees of the service, he became prætor and consul. He was the only person till the time of Trajan that triumphed for his exploits against the Parthians, and the only one who obtained that honour, after having been led in a triumph himself.

I have said that Ventidius contributed very much to make the Romans amends for the affront they had received at the battle of Carræ. He had begun to revenge the defeat of Crassus and his army, by two successive victories gained over those terrible enemies. A third, still greater than the former, completed the work, and was obtained in this manner.

That [n] general, apprehending the Parthians, whose preparations were far advanced, would get the start of him, and pass the Euphrates before he had time to draw all his troops together out of their different quarters, had recourse to this stratagem. There was a petty eastern prince in his camp, under the name of an ally, whom he knew to be entirely in the interest of the Parthians, and that he held secret intelligence with them, and gave them advice of all the designs of the Romans which he could discover. He resolved to make this man's treachery the means of drawing the Parthians into a snare he had laid for them. A. M. 3965. Ant. J.C. 39.

[m] Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 65. Valer. Max. l. vi. c. 9. Aul. Gell. l. xv. c. 4.

[n] Joseph. Antiq. l. xiv. c. 24. Plut. in Anton. p. 931. Appian. in Parth. p. 156. Dion Cass. l. xlix. p. 403, 404. Justin. l. xlii. c. 4.

With that view he contracted a more than ordinary intimacy with this traitor. He conversed frequently with him upon the operations of the campaign. Affecting at length to open himself to him with great confidence, he observed that he was much afraid, from advices he had received, that the Parthians designed to pass the Euphrates not at Zeugma, as usual, but a great way lower. For, said he, if they pass at Zeugma, the country on this side is so mountainous, that the cavalry in which the whole force of their army consists, can do us no great hurt. But if they pass below, there are nothing but plains, where they will have all manner of advantages against us, and it will be impossible for us to make head against them. As soon as he had imparted this secret to him, the spy did not fail, as Ventidius had rightly foreseen, to communicate it to the Parthians, with whom it had all the effect he could desire. Pacorus, instead of going to Zeugma, immediately took the other route, lost abundance of time in consequence of the great compass he was obliged to take, and in the preparations necessary for passing the river there. Ventidius got forty days by this means, which he employed in making Silon join him from Judæa, with the legions which were quartered on the other side of mount Taurus, and found himself in a condition to give the Parthians a good reception when they entered Syria.

As they saw that they had not been attacked either in passing the river, or afterwards, they attributed that inactivity to terror and cowardice, and marched directly to charge the enemy in their camp, though situated very advantageously upon an eminence, not doubting but they should soon make themselves masters of it, and that without much resistance. They were mistaken. The Romans quitted their camp, fell on them with impetuosity, and pushed them with the utmost vigour upon the declivity; and as they had the advantage of the ground, and their light-armed troops from the top of the hill poured showers

of darts upon the Parthians, they soon put them into disorder, notwithstanding the vigorous resistance they made at first. The slaughter was very great. Pacorus was killed in the battle, and his death was followed immediately with the flight of his whole army. The vanquished made haste to regain the bridge, in order to return into their own country; but the Romans prevented them, and cut the greatest part of them in pieces. Some few escaping by flight, retired to Antiochus king of Comagena. History observes, that this celebrated battle, which so well revenged the defeat of Crassus, was fought exactly on the same day with the battle of Carræ fourteen years before.

* Orodes was so struck with the loss of this battle, and the death of his son, that he was almost out of his senses. For several days, he neither opened his mouth, nor took any nourishment. When the excess of his grief was a little abated, and would permit him to speak, nothing was heard from him but the name of Pacorus. He imagined that he saw him, and called to him; he seemed to discourse with him as if he were living, to speak to him, and hear him speak. At other times he remembered that he was dead, and shed a torrent of tears.

Never was grief more just. This was the most fatal blow for the Parthian monarchy it had ever received; nor was the loss of the prince less than that of the army itself. For he was the most excellent character the house of the Arsacidæ had ever produced, for justice, clemency, valour, and all the qualities which constitute the truly great prince. He had made himself so much beloved in Syria, during the little time he resided there, that never did the people

* *Orodes, repente filii morte et exercitûs clade auditâ, ex dolore in furorem vertitur. Multis diebus non alloqui quenquam, non cibum sumere, non vocem mittere, ita ut etiam mutus factus videretur. Post multos deinde dies, ubi dolor vocem laxaverit, nihil aliud quàm Pacorum vocabat. Pacorus illi videri, Pacorus audiri videbatur: cum illo loqui, cum illo consistere. Interdum quasi amissum flebiliter dolebat.* Justin.

express more affection for any of their native sovereigns, than for the person of this foreign prince.

When Orodes had a little recovered the dejection into which the death of his dear son Pacorus had thrown him, he found himself extremely embarrassed about the choice of his successor out of his other children. He had thirty by different women, each of whom solicited him in favour of her own, and made use of all the ascendancy she had over a mind impaired by age and affliction. At last he determined, however, to follow the order of birth, and nominated PHRAATES, the eldest, and also most vicious of them all. He had scarce taken possession of the throne, when he caused all his brothers, whom his father had by the daughter of Antiochus Eusebes, king of Syria, to be murdered, and that only because their mother was of a better family than his, and they had more merit than himself. The father, who was still alive, not being able to avoid professing extreme displeasure upon that occasion, that unnatural son ordered him also to be put to death. He treated the rest of his brothers in the same manner; and did not spare his own son, from the apprehension that the people would set him upon the throne in his stead. It was this prince, so cruel towards all his own family, that treated Hyrcanus, king of the Jews, with peculiar favour and clemency.

A. M. 3967. Ant. J. C. 37.

ARTICLE III.

Abridgment of the history of the kings of Cappadocia, from the foundation of that kingdom to the time when it became a province of the Roman empire.

I HAVE spoken in several parts of this history of the kings of Cappadocia, according as I had occasion, but without mentioning either their beginning or succession. I shall here unite in one point of view all that relates to that kingdom.

Cappadocia is a great country[c] of Asia Minor. The Persians, under whose dominion it was at first, had divided it into two parts, and established two satrapies or governments in it. The Macedonians, into whose possession it fell, suffered those two governments to be changed into kingdoms. The one extended towards mount Taurus, and was properly called Cappadocia, or Cappadocia Major; the other towards Pontus, and was called Cappadocia Pontica, or Cappadocia Minor: they were at length united into one kingdom.

Strabo says, that Ariarathes was the first king of Cappadocia, but does not mention at what time he began to reign. It is probable, that it was about the time that Philip, father of Alexander the Great, began to reign in Macedonia, and Ochus in Persia. Upon this supposition the kingdom of Cappadocia continued three hundred threescore and sixteen years, before it was reduced into a province of the Roman empire under Tiberius. A. M. 3644. Ant. J. C. 360.

It was governed at first by a long succession of kings named Ariarathes; then by kings called Ariobarzanes, who did not exceed the third generation;

[c] Strab. l. xii. p. 533, 534.

and at length by the last, Archelaus. According to Diodorus Siculus, there had been many kings of Cappadocia before Ariarathes; but as their history is almost entirely unknown, I shall make no mention of it in this place.

A. M. 2644. Ant. J. C. 360. ARIARATHES I. He reigned jointly with his brother Holophernes, for whom he had a particular affection. Having joined the Persians in the expedition against Egypt, he acquired great glory, and returned home laden with honours by king Ochus.

A. M. 3653. Ant. J. C. 351. [d] ARIARATHES II. son of the former, had lived at peace in his dominions, during the wars of Alexander the Great, who, out of impatience to come to blows with Darius, was unwilling to be delayed by the conquest of Cappadocia, and had contented himself with some instances of submission.

A. M. 3668. Ant. J. C. 336. After that prince's death, Cappadocia, in the partition made of the provinces of his empire by his generals, fell to Eumenes. Perdiccas, to put him into possession of it, conducted him thither at the head of a powerful army. Ariarathes on his side prepared for a vigorous defence. He had thirty thousand foot and a numerous cavalry. They came to a battle. Ariarathes was defeated and taken prisoner. Perdiccas caused him, with his principal officers, to be crucified, and put Eumenes into possession of his dominions.

ARIARATHES III. After the death of his father, he escaped into Armenia.

A. M. 3689. Ant. J. C. 315. As soon as he was apprised of the death of Perdiccas and Eumenes, and the employment which other wars gave Antiochus and Seleucus, he entered Cappadocia with troops lent him by Ardoates king of Armenia. He defeated Amyntas, general of the Macedonians, drove him out of the country, and reascended the throne of his ancestors.

A. M. 3720. Ant. J. C. 284. ARIAMNES, his eldest son, succeeded him. He entered into an alliance with Antiochus Theos, king

[d] Plut. in Eumen. p. 548. Diod. l. xviii. p. 599.

of Syria, and married his eldest son to Stratonice, the daughter of the same Antiochus. He had so great an affection for this son, that he made him his colleague in the kingdom.

ARIARTHES IV. having reigned alone after the death of his father, left his dominions, when he died, to his son of the same name with himself, who was at that time very young.

ARIARATHES V. He married Antiochis, daughter of Antiochus the Great, an artful princess, who finding herself barren, had recourse to imposture. She deceived her husband, and made him believe that she had two sons, one of whom was called Ariarathes, and the other * Holophernes. Her barrenness ceasing some time after, she had two daughters, and then one son, who was named Mithridates. She confessed the fraud to her husband, and sent the elder of the supposititious children to be brought up at Rome, with a small train, and the other into Ionia. The legitimate son took the name of Ariarathes, and was educated after the manner of the Greeks. A. M. 3814. Ant. J. C. 190.

ARIARATHES V. supplied his father-in-law, Antiochus king of Syria, with troops, in the war which he undertook against the Romans. Antiochus having been defeated, Ariararthes sent [c] ambassadors to Rome, to ask pardon of the senate, for having been obliged to declare against the Romans in favour of his father-in-law. This was granted him, but not till after he had been condemned to pay, by way of expiation of his fault, two hundred talents, that is to say, two hundred thousand crowns. The senate afterwards abated him half that sum, at the request of Eumenes king of Pergamus, who had lately married his daughter.

Ariarathes afterwards entered into an alliance with

[c] Liv. l. xxxvii. n. 40. l. xxxviii. n. 37 & 39.

* He is so called by Polybius, and Orophernes by Diodorus Siculus.

his son-in-law Eumenes, against Pharnaces king of Pontus. The Romans, who had rendered themselves arbiters of the kings of the East, sent ambassadors to negociate a treaty between those three princes; but Pharnaces rejected their mediation. However, two years after, he was obliged to treat with Eumenes and Ariarathes upon conditions sufficiently hard.

The latter had a son of his own name, who loved him in the most tender manner, which occasioned his being surnamed Philopator; for whom he had no less affection. He desired to give him proofs of it by resigning the kingdom to him, and placing him upon the throne during his life. The son, who had the utmost affection and respect for a father who so well deserved both, could not resolve to accept an offer so advantageous in the vulgar opinion of men, but one which aimed a mortal wound at so good a heart as his; and represented to his father, that he was not one of those who could consent to reign during the life of him to whom he owed his being. Such examples of moderation, generosity, disinterestedness, and sincere affection for a father, are the more extraordinary, and the more to be admired, as in the times of which we are now relating the history, inordinate ambition respected nothing, and boldly violated the most sacred ties of nature and religion.

A. M. 3842. Ant. J. C. 162. [f] Ariarathes VI. surnamed Philopator, reigned after his father's death, and was an excellent prince. As soon as he ascended the throne, he sent an embassy to Rome, to renew the alliance his father had contracted with the Romans, which he found no difficulty to obtain. He applied himself very closely to the study of philosophy, from whence Cappadocia, which, till then, had been unknown to the Greeks, became the residence of many learned men.

[f] Diod. in Eclog. l. xxxi. p. 865.

Demetrius, king of Syria, had a sister, whom Ariarathes refused to espouse, lest that alliance should give offence to the Romans. The refusal extremely prejudiced Demetrius against the king of Cappadocia. He soon found an occasion to be revenged, by supplying Holophernes with troops, who pretended to be the brother of [s] Ariarathes, expelled him from the throne, and after that violence reigned tyrannically. He put many to death, confiscated the estates of the greatest noblemen, and even plundered a temple of Jupiter, which had been reverenced by the people from time immemorial, and had never suffered such a violation before. Apprehending a revolution which his cruelty gave him reason to expect, he deposited * four hundred talents with the inhabitants of Priene, a city of Ionia. Ariarathes had taken refuge at Rome, to implore aid of the Romans. The usurper sent his deputies thither also. The senate, according to the usual motives of their policy, decreed that the kingdom should be divided between the two brothers.

Ariarathes found a more ready and more effectual protector in the person of Attalus king of Pergamus, who signalized the beginning of his reign by re-establishing this unfortunate prince upon the throne of his ancestors. Ariarathes, to revenge himself on the usurper, wished to compel the inhabitants of Priene to deliver into his hands the four hundred talents Holophernes had left with them. They opposed that demand, with pleading the inviolable faith of deposits, which would not admit their giving up that sum to any one whosoever, during the life of the person who had confided it to their keeping. Ariarathes had no regard to so just a representation, and laid waste their lands without mercy; notwithstanding which, so considerable a loss did

A. M. 3845. Ant. J. C. 159.

[s] Diod. in Excerpt. p. 334 & 336.

* Four hundred thousand crowns.

not induce them to violate the fidelity they thought themselves obliged to observe in regard to him, who had confided that deposit with them.

Holophernes had [h] retired to Antioch, where he joined in a conspiracy with the inhabitants of that city against Demetrius his benefactor, whose place he had conceived hopes of supplying. The conspiracy was discovered, and Holophernes imprisoned. Demetrius would have put him to death directly, if he had not judged it more advisable to reserve him, in order to make use of him afterwards in the pretensions he had upon Cappadocia, and the design he had formed of dethroning and destroying Ariarathes; but he was prevented by the plot contrived against him by the three kings of Egypt, Pergamus, and Cappadocia, who set Alexander Bala upon the throne in his stead.

A. M. 3875. Ant. J. C. 129. [i] Ariarathes aided the Romans against Aristonicus, who had possessed himself of the kingdom of Pergamus, and perished in that war.

He left six children, whom he had by Laodice. The Romans, in gratitude for the father's services, added Lycaonia and Cilicia to their dominions. Laodice, who was regent during the minority of those six princes, apprehending the loss of her authority when they should be of age to reign, poisoned five of them the same year their father died. She would have treated the sixth in the same manner, if the vigilance of relations had not removed him from the fury of that unnatural mother. The people set him upon the throne, after having destroyed that cruel murderess of her children.

A. M. 3913. Ant. J. C. 91. ARIARATHES VII. [k] He married another Laodice, sister of Mithridates Eupator, and had two sons by her, ARIARATHES VIII. and ARIARATHES IX. His brother-in-law caused him to be murthered by

[h] Justin. l. xxxv. c. 1.
[i] Justin. l. xxxvii. c. 1.
[k] Id. l. xxxviii. c. 1.

Gordius, one of his subjects. Laodice afterwards married Nicomedes king of Bithynia, who immediately took possession of Cappadocia. Mithridates sent an army thither, drove out the garrisons of Nicomedes, and restored the kingdom to his nephew, the son of the same Ariarathes, whom he had caused to be assassinated.

ARIARATHES VIII. had scarce ascended the throne, when Mithridates pressed him to recall Gordius from banishment, with design to rid himself of the son by the same assassin who had killed the father. That young prince shuddered at the proposal, and raised an army to oppose the violence of his uncle. Mithridates being unwilling to decide his measures by the hazard of a battle, chose rather to draw Ariarathes to a conference, in which he assassinated him, with a dagger concealed for that purpose, in the view of the two armies. He set his own son of only eight years of age in his place, caused him to be called Ariarathes, and gave him Gordius for his governor.[z] The Cappadocians, not being able to bear the oppression of the lieutenants of Mithridates, rose in arms, called in Ariarathes, the late king's brother, from Asia, and placed him upon the throne.

ARIARATHES IX. Soon after his return, Mithridates attacked, overthrew and expelled him the kingdom. That young prince's grief brought a disease on him, of which he died soon after. Mithridates had re-established his son upon the throne.

Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, apprehending that Mithridates, being in possession of Cappadocia, might fall upon his dominions, set up an infant of eight years of age, to whom he also gave the name of Ariarathes, and sent deputies to the Romans to demand the kingdom of his father in his name. Queen Laodice, his wife, went expressly to Rome to support the imposture, and to testify that she had had three sons by ARIARATHES VII. of whom this, which she produced, was

[z] Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 2.

the last. Mithridates, on his side, ventured to have assurances made by Gordius, that this son, whom he had placed upon the throne, was the son of that Ariarathes who had been killed in the war against Aristonicus. What times were these! what a series is here of frauds and impostures! The Roman people saw through them; and in order not to support them on either side, decreed that Mithridates should renounce Cappadocia, which for the future should enjoy its liberty, and govern itself as it thought proper. But the Cappadocians sent to Rome to declare that liberty was insupportable to them, and to demand a king. We may justly be astonished at the taste of a people, who could prefer slavery to liberty. But there are nations to which the monarchical is better adapted than the republican government; and there are few who are wise enough to make a moderate use of perfect and entire liberty. The Cappadocians elected, or rather received from the Romans, Ariobarzanes for their king, whose family was extinct at the third generation.

A. M. 3915. Ant. J. C. 89. ARIOBARZANES I.[a] This new prince did not enjoy his dignity in peace. Mithraas and Bagoas, generals of Tigranes, drove him out of Cappadocia, and established there Ariarathes, son of Mithridates. The Romans caused Ariobarzanes to be re-instated. He was expelled some time after by an army sent by Mithridates into Cappadocia in favour of his son. Sylla, having obtained great advantages over Mithridates, compelled him to abandon Cappadocia. Some time after, at the instigation of that prince, Tigranes invaded that kingdom, and carried off three hundred thousand men, to whom he gave lands in Armenia, and placed a considerable number of them in the city of Tigranocerta. Ariobarzanes, who had escaped to Rome before the invasion, was not restored till Pompey had put an end to the war with Mithridates.

[a] Appian. in Mithrid. p. 176, &c. Justin. l. xxxviii. c. 3. Plut. in Sylla.

ARIOBARZANES II. Pompey had considerably enlarged the dominions of Ariobarzanes, when he replaced him on the throne of Cappadocia. His son succeeded to all that great inheritance, but did not keep it long. He was killed some time before Cicero went to command in Cilicia. The prince who reigned at that time was Ariobarzanes III. grandson of Ariobarzanes I. A. M. 3938. Ant. J. C. 66.

[b] ARIOBARZANES III. Cicero, upon quitting Rome, had received orders to favour and protect Ariobarzanes with all possible care, as a prince whose welfare was dear to the senate and people; a glorious testimonial, which had never before been granted to any king. Cicero punctually executed the order of the senate. When he arrived in Cilicia, Ariobarzanes was menaced with being killed, as his father had been. A conspiracy was on foot against him, in favour of his brother Ariarathes. The latter declared to Cicero, that he had no part in that plot: that indeed he had been earnestly solicited to accept the kingdom, but that he had always been infinitely averse to such thoughts, during the life of his brother; who it seems, had no issue. Cicero employed the authority of his office, and all the influence his high reputation gave him, to dispel the storm with which the king was threatened. His * endeavours were successful; he saved the king's life and crown by his resolution, and a generous disinterestedness, which rendered him inaccessible to all the attempts that were made to corrupt his integrity, and to seduce him. The greatest danger came from the high-priest of Comana. There were two principal cities of that name, the one in Cappadocia and the other in the kingdom of Pontus.[c] They were consecrated to Bellona, and observed almost the same ceremonies in the worship A. M. 3953. Ant. J. C. 51.

[b] Cic. Epist. 2 & 4. l. xv. ad Famil. & Epist. 20. l. v. ad Attic.

[c] Strab. l. xii. p. 535 & 557.

* *Ariobarzanes operâ meâ vivit, regnat* Ἐν παρόδῳ, *consilio et auctoritate, et quòd proditoribus ejus ἀπροσιτόν με, non modò ἀδωροδόκητον, præbui regem, regnumque servavi.* Cic. Epist. 20. l. v. ad Attic.

of that goddess. The one was formed upon the model of the other; that of Pontus upon that of Cappadocia. It is of the latter we speak in this place. The temple of that goddess was endowed with great estates, and served by a vast number of persons, under the authority of a pontiff, a man of great influence, and so considerable, that the king alone was his superior: he was generally of the blood royal. His dignity was for life. Strabo says, that in his time there were above six thousand persons consecrated to the service of the temple of Comana. It was that which made the high-priest so powerful; and * in the time of which we speak, might have occasioned a very dangerous war, and involved Ariobarzanes in great difficulties, had he thought proper to defend himself by force of arms, as it was believed he would; for he had troops, both horse and foot, ready to take the field, with great funds to pay and subsist them. But Cicero, by his prudence, prevailed upon him to retire out of the kingdom, and to leave Ariobarzanes in the peaceable possession of it.

During the civil war between Cæsar and Pompey, Ariobarzanes marched with some troops to the latter, who were present at the battle of Pharsalia. This, no doubt, was the reason that Cæsar laid Ariobarzanes under contribution. It is certain that he exacted very considerable sums of money from him; [d] for that prince represented to him, that it would be impossible for him to pay them, if Pharnaces continued to plunder Cappadocia. Cæsar was then in Egypt, from whence he set out to reduce Pharnaces to reason. He passed through Cappadocia, and made

[d] Cæsar de Bell. Civ. l. iii. Hirt. de Bell. Alex.

* *Cùm magnum bellum in Cappadociâ concitaretur, si sacerdos armis se (quod facturus putabatur) defenderet, adolescens et equitatu et peditatu et pecuniâ paratus, et toto, iis qui novari aliquid volebant, perfecit ut è regno ille discederet; rexque sine tumultu ac sine armis, omni auctoritate aulæ communitâ, regnum cum dignitate obtineret.* Cic. Epist. 4. lib. xv. ad Famil.

such regulations there, as imply that Ariobarzanes and his brother kept up no very good understanding with each other, and entirely subjected the latter to the authority of the former. After Cæsar had conquered Pharnaces, [e] he gave part of Cilicia and Armenia to Ariobarzanes.

[f] This mild treatment gave the murderers of Cæsar reason to believe, that the king of Cappadocia would not favour their party. He did not openly declare against them; but he refused to enter into their alliance. This conduct gave them a just distrust of him, so that Cassius thought it incumbent upon him not to spare him. He attacked him, and having taken him prisoner, put him to death. A. M. 3962. Ant. J. C. 42.

ARIARATHES X. By the death of Ariobarzanes the kingdom of Cappadocia fell to his brother Ariarathes. The possession of it was disputed with him by Sisinna, the eldest son of Glaphyra, wife of Archelaus, high-priest of Bellona, at Comana, in Cappadocia. This Archelaus was the grandson of Archelaus, a Cappadocian by nation, and general of an army in Greece for Mithridates against Sylla. He abandoned the party of Mithridates in the second war, as we shall relate in the twenty-third book, and joined the Romans. [g] He left one son, named also Archelaus, who married Berenice, queen of Egypt, and was killed six months after in a battle. He had obtained a very honourable dignity from Pompey, which was the high-priesthood of Comana in Cappadocia. His son Archelaus possessed it after him. He married Glaphyra, a lady of extraordinary beauty, and had two sons by her, Sisinna and Archelaus. [h] The first disputed the kingdom of Cappadocia with Ariarathes who possessed it. Mark Antony was the judge of this difference. And determined it in favour of Sisinna. What became of him is not A. M. 3963. Ant. J. C. 41.

[e] Dio. l. xlii. p. 183. [f] Dio. l. xlvii. p. 346.
[g] Strab. l. xii. p. 558. Dio. l. xxxix. p. 116.
[h] Appian. de Bell. Civ. l. v. p. 675.

A. M. 3968. Ant. J. C. 36. known; history only tells us, that Ariarathes reascended the throne. Five or six years after, Mark Antony expelled him, [i] and established Archelaus, the second son of Glaphyra, in his stead.

A. M. 3973. Ant. J. C. 31. [k] ARCHELAUS. That prince became very powerful. He expressed his gratitude to Mark Antony by joining him with good troops at the battle of Actium. He was so fortunate, notwithstanding that conduct, as to escape the resentment of Augustus. He was suffered to keep possession of Cappadocia, and was almost the only one treated with so much favour.

A. M. 3984. Ant. J. C. 20. [l] He assisted Tiberius to re-establish Tigranes in Armenia, and obtained of Augustus, Armenia Minor, and a great part of Cilicia. Tiberius rendered him great services with Augustus, especially when his subjects brought accusations against him before that prince. He pleaded his cause himself, and was the occasion of his gaining it. Archelaus fixed his residence in the island of Eleusis near the coast of Cilicia, and having married Pythodoris, the widow of Polemon king of Pontus, he considerably augmented his power. For as the sons of Polemon were infants at that time, he had undoubtedly the administration of their kingdom jointly with their mother.

A. M. 3988. Ant. J. C. 16. His reign was very long and happy: [m] but his latter years were unfortunate, and his misfortunes were the consequence of Tiberius's revenge. That prince, who saw with pain, that Caius and Lucius, the sons of Agrippa, grandsons of Augustus, and his sons by adoption, were raised by degrees above him; * to avoid giving umbrage to the two young Cæsars, and

[i] Dio. l. xlix. p. 411. [k] Plut. in Anton. 944.

[l] Joseph. Antiq. l. xv. c. 5. Dio. l. liv. p. 526. Sueton. in Tib. c. viii. Dio. l. lvii. p. 614. Strab. l. xiv. p. 671, & l. xii. p. 556.

[m] Dio. in Excerpt. p. 662. Sueton. in Tib. c. x. Vell. Paterc. l. ii. c. 99.

* *Ne fulgor suus orientium juvenum obstaret initiis, dissimulatâ causâ consilii sui, commeatum ab socero atque eodem vitrico acquiescendi à continuatione laborum petiit.* Paterc. l. ii. c. 99.

to spare himself the mortification of being witness to their aggrandizement, demanded and obtained permission to retire to Rhodes, under pretext that he had need of repose for the re-establishment of his health. His retreat was considered as a real banishment, and people began to neglect him as a person in disgrace, and did not believe it safe to appear his friends. * During his stay at Rhodes, king Archelaus, who was not at a great distance from thence, residing generally at † Eleusis, paid him no honours forgetting the great obligations he had to him. It was not, says Tacitus, out of pride or haughtiness, but by the advice of Augustus's principal friends, who believed the amity of Tiberius dangerous at that time. On the contrary, when young Caius Cæsar, appointed governor of the East, was sent into Armenia by Augustus, to appease the troubles of that country, Archelaus, who looked upon him as the future successor to the empire, paid him all kind of honours, and distinguished himself by the zeal with which he paid his court to him. Politicians are often mistaken in their conjectures, for want of a clear insight into futurity. It would have been more consistent with prudence and wisdom in Archelaus to have observed such a conduct as would have been agreeable to each of the princes, who might both arrive at the empire. Something of this nature is observed of Pomponius ‡ Atticus, who during all the divisions, with which the republic

A. M. 4002. Ant. J. C. 2.

* *Rex Archelaus quinquagesimum annum Cappadociâ potiebatur, invisus Tiberio, quòd eum Rhodi agentem nullo officio coluisset. Nec id Archelaus per superbiam omiserat, sed ab intimis Augusti monitus; quia florente Caio Cæsare, missoque ad res Orientis, intuta Tiberii amicitia credebatur.* Tacit. Annal. l. ii. c. 42.

† Eleusis was but six leagues distant from Rhodes. Strab. l. xiv. p. 651.

‡ *Hoc quale sit, facilius existimabit is, qui judicare poterit quantæ sit sapientiæ, eorum retinere usum benevolentiamque, inter quos maximarum rerum non solùm æmulatio, sed obtrectatio tanta intercedebat, quantam fuit incidere necesse inter Cæsarem atque Antonium, cùm se uterque principem non solùm urbis Romanæ sed orbis terrarum esse cuperet.* Corn. Nep. in Attic. c. xx.

was torn at different times, always knew how to render himself agreeable to the heads of both parties.

Tiberius never forgot the injurious preference that had been given to his rival, which was the more offensive to him, as it argued an ungrateful disposition in Archelaus. He made him highly sensible of this when he became master. Archelaus was cited to Rome, as having endeavoured to excite troubles in the province. Livia wrote to him, and, without dissembling the emperor's anger, gave him hopes of pardon, provided he came in person to demand it. This was a snare laid for drawing him out of his kingdom. The king * of Cappadocia either did not perceive it, or dared not to act as if he did. He set out for Rome, was very ill received by Tiberius, and saw himself shortly after proceeded against as a criminal. Dion assures us, that Archelaus, depressed with age, was generally believed to have lost his reason; but that in reality he was perfectly in his senses, and counterfeited the madman, because he saw no other means of saving his life. The senate passed no sentence against him: but age, the gout, and, more than those, the indignity of the treatment he was made to suffer, soon occasioned his death. He reigned two and fifty years. After his death, Cappadocia was reduced into a province of the Roman empire.

A. M. 4020. An. Dom. 16.

This kingdom was very powerful. The revenues of Cappadocia were so considerable when Archelaus died, that Tiberius thought himself able, from his new acquisition, to abate the half of a tax he had caused to be levied. He even gave that province some relief, and would not exact from it all the duties it had paid the last king.

* *Ille ignarus doli, vel, si intelligere videretur, vim metuens, in urbem properat: exceptusque immiti à principe, et mox accusatus à senatu; non ob crimina, quæ fingebantur, sed angore, simul fessus senio, et quia regibus æqua, nedum infima, insolita sunt, finem vitæ sponte an fato implevit.* Tacit. Ann. l. ii. c. 42.

The kings of Cappadocia generally resided at Mazaca [n] a city situate at the foot of the mountain Argea, and which was governed by the laws of * Charondas. This city was built upon the river Melas, which empties itself into the Euphrates. A king of Cappadocia, whom Strabo calls simply Ariarathes, without mentioning the time when he lived, having filled up the mouths of this river, it overflowed all the neighbouring country; after which he caused small islands to be made in it, after the manner of the Cyclades where he passed part of his life in puerile diversions. The river broke the dams of its mouths, and the waters returned into their channel. The Euphrates having received them, overflowed, and did incredible damage in Cappadocia. The Galatians, who inhabited Phrygia, suffered also great losses by that inundation, for which they insisted upon being made amends. They demanded three hundred talents of the king of Cappadocia, and made the Romans their judges.

Cappadocia abounded with horses, asses, [o] and mules. It was from thence the horses were brought so particularly allotted for the use of the emperors, that the consuls themselves were forbidden to have any of them. It furnished also a great number of slaves † and false witnesses. The Cappadocians were reported to accustom themselves to the bearing of torments from their infancy, and to put one another to the rack and other methods of torture, in order to inure themselves against the pains their false witness might one day expose them to suffer. This people exceeded the Greek nation in perjury, [p] though the latter had carried that vice to a great height, if we may believe Cicero, who ascribes to them the having made this manner of speaking common amongst

[n] Strab. l. xii. p. 537, 539. [o] Boch. Phaleg. l. iii. c. 11. Schol. Persii. [p] Cic. pro. Flac. n. 9, 10.

* This Charondas was a celebrated legislator of Græcia Major, of whom mention has been made.

† *Mancipiis locuples eget æris Cappadocum rex.* Horat.

them; "Lend me your evidence, [q] and I will pay you "with mine."

Cappadocia, generally speaking, was far from being a country of great geniuses and learned men. It has produced however, some very celebrated authors. Strabo and Pausanias are of that number. It was believed especially, that the Cappadocians were very unfit for the profession of orators; and it became a proverb, that a * rhetorician of that country was as hard to be found as a white raven or a flying tortoise. S. Basil and S. Gregory Nazianzen are exceptions to that rule.

[q] *Da mihi testimonium mutuum.*

* Θᾶττον ἔην λευκοὺς κοράκας πτηνάστε χελώνας
Εὑρεῖν, ἢ δόκιμον ῥήτορα Καππαδόκην.

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